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SOCIETY ADDRESSES

1844-1885







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# A D D R E S S

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THE OPENING OF THEIR CABINET,

ON WEDNESDAY, NOV. 20, 1844.

BY WILLIAM GAMMELL,

PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC IN BROWN UNIVERSITY.

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PROVIDENCE:  
B. CRANSTON AND COMPANY.  
1844.







# ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



BY

WILLIAM GAMMELL.





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Gammell, William, 1812-1889.

Address delivered before the Rhode-Island historical society, at the opening of their cabinet, on Wednesday, Nov. 20, 1844. By William Gammell ... Providence, B. Cranston and company, 1844.

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PROVIDENCE, Nov. 21, 1844.

DEAR SIR :—At a meeting of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, held last evening, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to thank you for the Address which you yesterday delivered, on the occasion of the opening of the Society's new Cabinet, in Waterman street, and to request of you a copy for the press.

In communicating to you, Sir, the sentiments and wishes of the Society, the undersigned cannot refrain from expressing their earnest desire that you will not withhold from the public a production which sets forth, in a philosophic spirit and in language truly eloquent, the noble uses of History, and the important purposes which the Rhode-Island Historical Society is endeavoring to accomplish.

Respectfully, your friends and fellow citizens,

ALBERT G. GREENE, }  
THOMAS B. FENNER, } Committee.  
WM. G. GODDARD, }

WILLIAM GAMMELL, Esq.

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PROVIDENCE, Nov. 22, 1844.

GENTLEMEN :—Accept my thanks for the exceedingly complimentary manner in which you have been pleased to communicate the request of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, for a copy of the Address delivered at the opening of the new Cabinet. Thoroughly interested as I am in the history of the State, and especially in the labors of the Historical Society, I cannot withhold a production, however unworthy, which, in their judgment, may increase the interest of the public in the useful and elevated objects to which those labors are devoted.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM GAMMELL.

MESSRS. ALBERT G. GREENE, }  
THOMAS B. FENNER, } Committee of the R. I.  
WM. G. GODDARD, } Historical Society.





# ADDRESS.

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## GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY :

WE have come together to celebrate an event which may well form an era in the history of our society—the completion and opening of the chaste and commodious structure, which is henceforth to become the permanent depository of our collections for Rhode-Island history.—The occasion, though far removed from the exciting scenes that ordinarily occupy the attention of men in this bustling and restless age, is yet one which holds high and important connections with the dignity, the prosperity and the fame of the City and of the State. Let us then turn aside, for a brief time, from the engrossing occupations of every day life, to consider the purposes of our association, and, at this new altar, to kindle afresh our devotion to the objects to which it is to-day to be for ever consecrated. They are objects which intimately concern some of the best interests of society, and they earnestly appeal to some of the noblest sympathies of our intellectual and spiritual nature.

The care which preserves the materials for a people's history, is characteristic only of advanced stages of civilization, and a high degree of social and intellectual culture. The barbarous passions that crave merely present

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gratification, and the engrossing spirit of trade, that heeds only the prospect of pecuniary gain, are alike unmindful of the connection that subsists between a nation's history and a nation's character. Wealth and power may rear costly monuments to the memories of the great; the bard of a rude age may celebrate in mythic verse the achievements of heroism and courage; but the collection of the scattered memorials of the past, the nice and discriminating research into its obscure recesses, and the writing of history, such history as may instruct mankind, these are never accomplished until society has made progress in social and moral culture, until out of the mighty mass of its baser passions and perishable interests there has sprung an intellectual spirit—a sense that craves a deeper wisdom than the voices of the living world can ever teach. It is then that we study the characters of the past, and reproduce them in the present.

“ We give in charge  
 Their names to the sweet lyre. The historic muse,  
 Proud of the treasure, marches with it down  
 To latest times; and sculpture, in her turn,  
 Gives bond in stone and ever-during brass,  
 To guard them and to immortalize her trust.”

It is the appropriate object of an Historical Society to collect and preserve all the relics of the past, that may serve as materials for history. This object, when liberally prosecuted, cannot fail to exert the most salutary influences, not only upon those immediately engaged in its accomplishment, but upon the whole spirit of a community. It leads us along the checkered course of human affairs. It conducts us through the successive experiments that have been made in politics and morals; the changes of social condition, of language and of manners; the controversies that have agitated society, and the enterprises that have resulted in its comfort and improvement; and it brings to our notice all that has affected the

The first thing I noticed when I stepped  
out of the car was a warm blanket of  
sunlight. The air smelled like freshly  
baked bread. I took a deep breath, feeling  
the sun on my face and the breeze in my hair.  
It was a perfect day, just what I needed.  
I walked towards the park, my heart  
beating with excitement. The children's  
playground was full of life, with  
kids running and laughing. I watched  
them for a moment, feeling a sense of  
nostalgia. I remembered the days when  
I was a child, playing in the same  
park. It felt like I had stepped back  
in time. I smiled and continued my  
walk, enjoying every moment.

The second thing I noticed was the  
sound of the birds. They were singing  
so beautifully, filling the air with their  
melodies. I listened intently, trying to  
catch every note. It was a symphony  
of nature, and I was so lucky to be  
here.

The third thing I noticed was the  
smell of the flowers. They were in full  
bloom, their colors vibrant and bright.  
I stopped for a moment, leaning over  
to smell them. The scent was so strong,  
it filled my nose and made me feel  
like I was in a dream. I took a  
deep breath and smiled. It was  
just what I needed. I continued my  
walk, feeling the sun on my face and  
the breeze in my hair. It was a  
perfect day, just what I needed.

interests of humanity within the sphere to which it more especially relates. This object, in all civilized lands, has at all times been regarded as of the highest importance. Not only does its successful accomplishment ensure accuracy and completeness to the labors of the historian, but it also suggests innumerable topics to the philosopher and moralist, and sheds new light upon the mysterious problems of man's social progress and destiny.

But in this country, especially, the objects which associations like ours have in view, address themselves with still more commanding interest to the attention of the scholar and the citizen, and ally themselves even more closely with the well-being and improvement of society. I speak not now of the shadowy period which elapsed before the settlement of America began, fraught with curious interest, and fruitful of mighty problems though it be. The researches of the antiquarian traveller are just disclosing the burial place of its perished races, and lifting the veil of oblivion from the ruins of its wonderful civilization. Without reference, however, to this remote antiquity, so filled with mysteries and marvels, and so overwhelming by its vastness, there are subjects enough of transcendent interest, in the origin and progress of our own civilization, which has sprung up and borne its astonishing fruits upon these trans-atlantic shores. It is indeed of recent origin, but it is of peculiar character. It was engrafted upon this wild continent from the world's best stock. Its earliest eras are comparatively of yesterday; but its growth and development have been marked by great events, and illustrated by deeds and characters of the loftiest heroism. It has given a new continent to the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race, and has opened here, for the language, the laws, and the religion of our British forefathers, the path to a destiny more glorious and sublime, than has ever been recorded in the annals of mankind. The origin and history of this peculiar civilization,





the early struggles it maintained with the perils of the wilderness and the hostility of savages, the virtues that adorned its character, and the men who pioneered its progress, these and all their innumerable relationships and results, are subjects that demand the careful and reverent study of the American people. That such subjects be thoroughly investigated and the memorials relating to them be carefully treasured up, may be of unspeakable benefit to the future fortunes of mankind. No toil, whether of hands or of minds: no expenditure, whether of effort or of wealth, that may be required to do this, will be bestowed in vain.

Nor is the influence which such inquiries exert upon the spirit and character of a people to be lightly estimated. It liberalizes their aims, breaks down their prejudices, elevates and ennobles their interests, and enlarges their sympathy with the changeful fortunes of the common humanity. The English moralist has well remarked, that "whatever withdraws us from the power of the senses, and makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings." Now it is precisely this influence which historic studies, above all other pursuits, are particularly fitted to exert. They serve to multiply the ties which bind a people to an honored ancestry, and to rally with new energy, their hopes and affections around the brilliant eras of their history, and the monuments which record the struggles of patriotism or the triumphs of freedom. They call back the buried forms, the forgotten achievements, the vanished scenes of a departed age, and cause them to move again, in a brilliant and impressive panorama, before the mind of the present generation. They thus mingle the interests and images of other times with the engrossing cares and pursuits that now occupy our attention, and, amid the wrecks of departed ages, they read to us lessons of the truest practical wisdom. By thus opening to the minds





of a people the fountains of their early history, may be best secured that unity of national character and that high-toned national spirit, which more than armies or navies, more than legislative codes or written constitutions, preserve from decay the institutions of a country. "These noble studies," as Milton has said of kindred pursuits, "are of power to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility." They interpret the prophetic voices of the past, and by clothing each familiar spot, each ruin, and hill-top, and river, with the associations of history, they increase and justify the feelings of veneration and pride with which the patriot clings to the institutions of his country.

No sooner does a nation become indifferent to her history, than her national spirit begins to decline. The chain of consanguinity which runs through successive generations and binds them in perpetual union, is broken asunder. The State, no longer venerated as a parent, is subjected to the experiments of wretched empirics, or, it may be, is turned adrift on the wild sea of revolution, with no principles of inherited wisdom to guide her, no lights of the storied past to shine upon her wayward course.—Modern times have furnished, at least, one memorable example of this truth, in the phrenzied struggles of revolutionary France, and that one example, it may be hoped, is enough for all ages. It seemed as though to her, her whole previous existence as a nation were utterly useless, and almost as though time had rolled his course in vain. In her proud self-conceit, she heeded none of the lessons of her own, or of others' experience. From the ages of her national glory, from the brilliant rallying-points of her history, she turned away, in contempt, to pursue the glittering phantoms of an upstart, impracticable philosophy. The altars of her ancient religion she threw down, and from the proudest spots of her soil, she removed the monuments of early patriotism and valor, hallowed by the associations of



centuries, that she might set up there the blood-stained emblems of her fanatical, atheistical republic. It was said by one of her own statesmen, with almost literal truth, that "you might alter the whole political frame of the government in France, with greater ease than you could introduce the most insignificant change into the customs or even the fashions of England."

But the labors of an Historical Society are of more particular benefit in their specific connection with the office of the historian. Their object is to provide the materials of which history is to be composed. In this country, especially, this is a work which private associations must do. The government, whether of the States or the nation, has hitherto done but little to rescue from oblivion the minuter materials for our national history. They must be discovered and brought together, and prepared for the historian's use, by private efforts alone, or they will perish forever. It is thus only that the narratives of American history can be raised to that higher standard of truth and accuracy, which shall make them faithful exponents of the real progress of the nation. Lord Bacon has remarked, that "nothing is so seldom found among the writings of men, as true and perfect civil history." And the remark is scarcely less applicable to the writings of our own age, than of that in which it was uttered. A part, however, of the imperfection which it implies, may be remedied, by a nicer and more discriminating research, a more careful collection and preservation of all the materials that can illustrate the spirit or the facts of an age or a nation.

But, after all, what is written history but the exponent and suggester of that which is not, and which cannot be written? The events that no pen records, always far outnumber those contained on the historic page; and there are a multitude of characters haunting the mysterious chambers of the past, whom no artist has ever sketched for the





picture galleries of history. This fact the historian must keep constantly in view, and he must write in such a manner as to concentrate and preserve the spirit of the whole in the part which he records. For this purpose, he must pursue innumerable investigations, whose results he cannot use; he must thread many a labyrinth of controversy which will not yield him a single fact, and he must study the lives and deeds of men whose names even, will not appear in the pages of his writings. It is only in accordance with this principle, that historical accuracy has ever been secured. Herodotus, the father of this species of composition, spent years in travelling over many lands, in conversing with their various inhabitants, in gathering up their scattered traditions and legends, and in extracting from them all, whatever could illustrate the times of which he wrote, ere he delivered his immortal work to his assembled countrymen, at the games of Greece. Gibbon devoted the enthusiasm of youth, and the best energies of manhood, to delving in the lore of classic antiquity. He studied the doctrines of every philosophic school, the principles of every art and every science, and "crossed and re-crossed, again and again, the gloomy gulf that separates the ancient from the modern world," and gathered the relics of many a perished race and broken dynasty, ere he was prepared to write the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. And the historian of modern Europe informs us, that his recent brilliant work on the French Revolution was the result of fourteen years of travelling and study, and of fourteen more devoted to the labors of composition.

There is also another respect in which the collections of an association like ours, are of essential service to the historian. It is not always the most splendid events that do most in moulding the character of an age, or in shaping the destiny of a people. The mightiest streams of political or of moral influence often spring from some humble fountain, embosomed in the retreats of private life, and





quite shut out from the notice of the mere general inquirer. To these sequestered places the historian must penetrate, by the aid of the minutest investigation, and of the most comprehensive generalizations. In doing this, his first resort is to the collections which others have made, to the materials which have been provided ready to his hand. He uses them and makes them tributary to the lessons he would teach, in accordance with the same high principle as that on which the philosophic astronomer employs the results of the humble observer who nightly watches the stars, and chronicles the silent changes through which they pass. As, in comparative anatomy, a single disconnected bone reveals to the naturalist the structure and habits of a race of animals that has been extinct for ages; so, often, the mutilated record of some forgotten manuscript, the neglected work of some ancient chronicler, will open to the historian the whole history of an age, and enable him to revive its spirit and exhibit "its very form and pressure." Thucydides has sketched, in glowing colors, the revolutions of the States of Greece; but could some Athenian letters, written by the patriots who lived during the terrific era he describes, now be rescued from the oblivion to which they have passed, they might reveal to us the scenes of Coreyra or of Corinth, the motives of statesmen and the springs of revolution, far more fully than they can now be gathered even from the pages of the most graphic of historians. And, to take a more familiar example, he who would thoroughly understand the social spirit and character of the early settlers of our own **PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS**, must have recourse not to the provisions of the first or the second charter, nor even to the records of the town alone, but to the scattered documents that describe their strifes with the people at Pawtuxet, and their endless disputes about bounds, and about the meaning of the famous words "up stream without limits," in the sachem's original deed; or to the singular paper which



Roger Williams submitted to the town, entitled "considerations touching rates." It is from these, and such as these, the incidental relics of things that have passed away forever, that the historian forms his conception of an age, and spreads it forth upon his pictured page.

But collections like these of which I am speaking, are not only of essential service to the historian; they also enable the reader to verify the statements, to enlarge and extend the views contained in history itself. How many theories have been exploded, how many misrepresentations have been corrected, long after they have been chronicled in history, by the subsequent researches of more diligent or impartial inquirers! Hume was for a long time regarded as the almost perfect embodiment of philosophical impartiality, and his "History of England" was read with universal delight, as the authentic narrative of the proud march of the English people from barbarism to civilization, through the checkered fortunes of their career. But the researches of later inquirers, and especially the publication of documentary details, relating to the more important periods of which he treats, have cast a shadow over his historic fame, which is growing deeper and deeper with every succeeding generation. The inimitable qualities of his style, and the charming grace of his manner, will long make his great work the delight of all who read English history; but it is only when its errors have been corrected, its partial representations extended, its cold indifference to the interests of humanity animated with philanthropic sentiment and generous sympathy, that it becomes a safe guide to the true principles of the English Constitution, or the real fortunes of the English nation.

We may recur, for other illustrations, to the history of our own State, at a period within the recollection of some who are present to day. All are familiar with the fact that Rhode-Island was the last of the thirteen States to





adopt the Federal Constitution and to join the union which had been formed. But how small a portion of the real history of that event, is this single fact ! There is here no explanation of the causes of this reluctant assent ; no illustration of the influences which were at work to blind the people to the true dignity and happiness of the State. It is only when we leave the historic record, and go back to the scattered chronicles of the day, or converse with the aged men who still live to describe it, that we can form any adequate conception of the conflicting passions which then rent our little republic, on this engrossing question. Many a quiet citizen of the present day, who glories in the constitution of his country, would hear, with astonishment, of the strifes which agitated this State at the period of its adoption ; when town and country were in arms against each other, and military officers, and even legislators and judges, assembled with a rustic mob to prevent by violence the civil rejoicings which the success of the constitution in other States called forth among the people of Providence !

Other illustrations, without number, might be adduced, to show how much of our knowledge of the spirit and progress of a people, depends upon collecting and carefully treasuring up all the materials for composing, illustrating and explaining their history. But I need not dwell upon these familiar and well established views, respecting the importance of historic studies. In other countries, they have created a deep and wide-spread interest, they have received the fostering care of government, and have resulted in the accumulation of the most magnificent treasures of historic lore. The rich collections of the King's Library at Paris, of the British Museum at London, of the splendid libraries at Copenhagen and Göttingen, at Berlin and Vienna ; each containing, on an average, nearly 400,000 volumes, show how much has been done to keep the past from being forgotten, and to preserve all its impor-



tant facts and teachings, and even its evanescent spirit, for the future instruction and guidance of mankind. What event in the history of modern Europe cannot there be illustrated! What age cannot there be revived! The visiter to these stupendous collections of books and manuscripts, as he wanders amazed through their crowded alcoves, sees piled on every side around him, all that the diligence of man, aided by princely munificence and imperial power, has been able to rescue from the mighty wrecks of the past; and he feels a generous pride in the thought, that so much at least is safe, of all which gifted genius has created, or which the race of man has suffered and achieved, through the long centuries of its existence.

Our own country, though far behind the leading nations of Europe in her collections of books, has however begun to cultivate a most worthy and commendable interest in the monuments of her early history. Everything pertaining to the planting and the early growth of the settlements of America, has at length acquired a high value, and is becoming a matter of universal demand. It can now no longer be said that the richest collections of materials for American history are in foreign lands, shut up in the libraries of princes or of curious scholars, or sealed away in the Plantation Offices of the British government. They are here in the heart of New-England, where they have been gathered by the munificence of private citizens, and the enlightened agency of our literary institutions, and here they must remain forever.

The numerous Historical Societies which have been formed in this country, furnish also another most gratifying proof of the growing interest in all that pertains to American History. The Massachusetts Historical Society was founded in 1790. During the period which has since elapsed, it has published twenty-seven volumes of its Collections. It has accumulated, by its researches,





a library of books and manuscripts of immense value, and has set on foot inquiries and historic labors, whose influence has been felt in every part of the land. At later periods, similar societies have been established in the others of the New-England States, in New-York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Georgia, each one of which has contributed something for the illustration or the enriching of our local or general history. Of these, the society in New-York is by far the most liberal in its resources and aims, and the most active and diligent in its inquiries. It has published six volumes of Collections, pertaining to the history of its own State, and is at this moment prosecuting its objects, with a zeal and enterprise which give full assurance that all that has ever been achieved, in earlier or in later days, by the sturdy settlers of the New-Netherlands or their persevering successors, will be duly chronicled on the pages of American history.

But the history of no State in the Union, we may safely say, presents claims upon the attention and study of her citizens, so strong as does that of Rhode-Island. Her origin was peculiar, and her position among the States of New-England was marked, for many generations, by the same peculiarity. The three divisions of the State, the Plantations of Providence, the settlement at Aquetneck, and the settlement at Warwick, were first peopled by those who had been driven from the neighboring colonies for opinion's sake. Though differing in almost every other respect, they were entirely agreed in maintaining the one great principle which persecution had taught them, the inalienable freedom of the conscience, the underived, unchartered independence of the human soul. In others of their political and ethical opinions, they partook of the errors of their time, other interests of society they may even have neglected, but in their perception and application of this principle—the basis of all real freedom—they strode far be-



fore the age to which they belonged. They seemed to their contemporaries to be pursuing, with reckless zeal, a startling and impracticable paradox; but they felt, themselves, the greatness of the mission they were appointed to accomplish—to found a refuge for “true soul liberty,” to hold forth to mankind the first “lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand, and be best maintained, with a full liberty in religious concerns.” This noble purpose they adhered to with a tenacity that never yielded—with a consistency that never was marred, amidst the penury and the privations of the wilderness, amidst the scorn and the persecutions of all their neighbors. The colony, from the first, in the language of the settlers at Newport, was “a birth and breeding of the Most High.” Here, “beyond the chartered grasp of civilized man,” it was founded by “an outcast people,” who gloried most in “bearing with the several judgments and consciences of each other in all the towns of the colony.” In this consisted the peculiarity of Rhode-Island. In this, the fundamental principle of her society, she stood forth in the age, single and alone—*nec riget quidquam simile, aut secundum*.

This peculiarity in her early character, made her the object of incessant suspicion and distrust, and, at length, arrayed against her the combined legislation and proscription of all the other colonies of New-England. They chose to regard her as a heterodox, and almost as an outlaw State, whose interests and happiness they might prey upon at pleasure, and without rebuke. They laid claim to her territory, and extended their jurisdiction over her people, and well nigh crushed her in her very cradle. Massachusetts passed a law forbidding the inhabitants of Providence from coming to her towns, and when a respected clergyman of Newport, with two companions, went to visit an aged member of his church, resident at Lynn, he was seized by the beadles of the town, while





preaching on the Sabbath, at the house of his friend, and was punished, under sentence of the court, by a heavy fine and imprisonment, with the alternative of being publicly whipped! The fine was paid without the good man's knowledge or consent, and he was released from prison.— One of his companions, however, was still retained in confinement, and when set at liberty, was whipped with thirty stripes, inflicted with that merciless severity which heresy alone could have provoked. Under the operation of this exclusive policy, which was adopted by the neighboring colonies, the inhabitants of Rhode-Island were not only cut off from the trade of the country, but were often obliged to forego the comforts and the common necessities of life. This hostility, which, from the beginning, had characterized the intercourse of the other settlements with the fathers of Rhode-Island, in 1643, was embodied in the confederacy which was established among the colonies of New-England. The leading object of this confederacy was the mutual protection of its members against the Indians, whose hostility was threatened on every side, and against the rising settlements of the French and the Dutch, with whom England was then frequently at war. The circumstances of its formation are worthy of a moment's particular consideration. The contracting parties to the league, were the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth, of New-Haven and Connecticut, each of which, by its Commissioners, signed the articles at Boston, on the 19th of May, 1643. This union, Rhode-Island was not invited to join, and subsequently, at her own application to be admitted a member, she was *deliberately refused admission*; an act which, taken in all its circumstances, stands out among the most unchristian and inhuman, recorded in Puritan history, in whose strange records are so often blended the direst atrocity and the loftiest virtue. Here was an infant, feeble colony, situated between two powerful races of savages—the Wampanoags on the east, and



the Narragansetts on the west—and separated by the wide Atlantic, from the mother country. Its people were of the same Anglo-Saxon stock, and professed the same protestant faith with their neighbors. They had come from England in the same ships, which bore the colonists of Plymouth and Boston, of New-Haven and Hartford. Like them, they had lighted the fires of civilization in the wilderness, and, by their beneficent influence with the Indians, they had, more than once, saved the whole country from the desolations of savage war. Yet it was all in vain. They had adopted the startling heresy, that men are responsible for their opinions, to God alone—that the civil power may not interfere in religious concerns—and that before the law of the land, all should alike be equal—whether Protestants or Papists—whether Jews or Turks. For this opinion, which they had dared to proclaim, and to carry into practice, they were placed beneath the ban of universal proscription, and were deliberately excluded from the alliance and the sympathies of the whole civilization of the country—to perish, it might be, from the wastings of starvation and disease, or amid the terrors of Indian massacre and conflagration.

At a recent celebration of the era of this confederacy, in a neighboring State, a distinguished and venerable orator\* discoursed, with more of rhetoric than of truth, concerning what he was pleased to term “the conscientious, contentious spirit” of the early fathers of Rhode-Island. But to what manner of spirit shall we attribute this act of the Puritans of New-England, by which a christian colony, of their own brethren, was deprived of all the benefits of their neighborhood, and left unprotected in the wilderness, to contend with merciless savages, and struggle alone “against necessity’s sharp pinch!” Was it mere indifference to the fate of those whom they deemed heretics and outcasts? Or was it the

\* See Note A.







vain hope, that by the pressure of want, or the threats of Indian massacre, the colony would yield to her confederate neighbors, and quietly submit to be partitioned among their several jurisdictions? Whichever of these may have been the motive, the act itself bespeaks a dark and malignant bigotry, which cannot be veiled, and for which it is in vain to apologize—a bigotry which, indeed, need not be dwelt upon, amid the general blaze of Puritan virtues, but which we may well be proud to think, has left no traces of its existence in the history or the character of Rhode-Island.

How different from all this, is the spirit which characterized *her* legislation, even at the same gloomy periods of New-England History! In turning to consider it, we seem to have advanced a whole age in the progress of civil and intellectual freedom. Take a single illustration. In 1656, Massachusetts commenced the persecution of the Quakers, which soon extended through all New-England. Banished from every other Colony, they fled to Rhode-Island, where, though they had but few sympathies with the inhabitants, they were kindly received, and were admitted to all the privileges of citizens and freemen. But the Commissioners of the United Colonies hunted them even here. In two several appeals, they urged the authorities of this colony, by every motive which could be addressed to the self-interest of a community, to join in the general persecution. But with what dignity does the Legislature reply: “As concerning these Quakers, (so called,) which are now among us, we have no law whereby to punish any for only declaring, by words, their minds and understandings, concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition.” And, when finding all persuasives vain, the Commissioners, irritated at her inflexible adherence to her noble principles, threaten to suspend all intercourse, and thus dry up the very sources of subsistence to the colony, the Assembly calmly make



their appeal to "his Highness and honorable council" in England, and, through their agent, ask that they "may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted or violated; which," say they, "our neighbors about us do frequently practise, whereof many of us have *large experience*, and do judge it to be no less than a point of *absolute cruelty*."

Now, look along the history of mankind, up to the latter half of the seventeenth century, and where else do you find that language like this had ever proceeded from a legislative assembly? Yet, strange to say, the age was pre-eminently distinguished for its attention to religious truth and to the rights of conscience. England was rent by civil wars, of which these rights were professed as the sustaining principle. Her people were divided into four great parties, the Roman Catholics, the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Independents, all of whom were contending for what they called *freedom of conscience*; and many a noble spirit had been offered up as a sacrifice to the cause, on the scaffold, or on the field of battle. Here, too, upon the barren coasts of New-England, were hardy settlements, just springing into vigorous existence, each of which had been planted for the *freedom of the conscience*. Yet on a closer inspection, the freedom which all were pursuing, proves to be freedom only for themselves, not for others. It was freedom to rear their own altars and to offer their own worship. Beyond this it did not go. And the student of history turns from them all; from the religious parties then struggling for ascendancy in England, and from the colonies which had sprung up on the shores of America, and finds here alone, in a colony which had been neglected by her mother and despised by all her sisters, the solitary refuge for true soul-liberty—that unlimited intellectual freedom, higher than mere toleration—which makes all opinions equal in the eye of





the law, and which forbids the civil power to touch the inviolable sanctuary of the conscience.

Thus peculiar—far more so than has been generally understood—was the spirit of the early fathers of this State. The memorials of their labors, of their legislation, of their sufferings for the maintenance of this principle—which they alone of all the world, understood and cherished—are worthy of the minutest inquiry. They cannot be too thoroughly explored, or too carefully treasured up in the depositories of historic lore.

But, in addition to the greatness and value of the principles at issue, there is another consideration, which urges us perhaps, still more strongly, to the careful collection and preservation of the materials, especially for our early history. It is found in the fact, that these principles, and the characters of the men who here asserted them, have been singularly misrepresented and misunderstood. The literature of New-England, at that day, was confined to Massachusetts and Plymouth, and their early annalists seem never to have dreamed, that a faithful narrative of the planting and growth of this heterodox colony, where all sorts of consciences were tolerated, would ever be of the slightest interest or benefit to mankind. Hence it happened, that our early history became known to the world, mainly through the imperfect sketches of Winthrop or Hubbard, the prejudiced statements of Morton, the controversial sarcasms of Mr. Cotton, and the ridiculous, and sometimes vulgar jibes, of Cotton Mather. Many of these misrepresentations have been corrected by subsequent writers, in the same States from which they emanated; and the fame of Rhode-Island has been brightened by their labors. But she still appeals to her own sons, for a fuller vindication—she claims it for the lessons she has taught them—for the inheritance of freedom she has transmitted to them. From these eminences in her social progress, to which she has attained, she points us back to the



scattered graves of her original Planters, and demands of us that we build monuments to their memory—that we guard their fame, and transmit their principles, undisguised and unperverted, in the imperishable records of history.

Among these early fathers of the State, I may here mention one, whose fame has been too much neglected, but whose character has descended to us, in the memory of his deeds, embalmed with the purest associations of devoted patriotism, and exalted virtue. I refer to Dr. John Clarke, of Newport—the associate of Roger Williams—the procurer of the second Charter—the tried friend of the colony, at a time when friendship for her was the sacrifice of all else that New-England had to bestow. His life ought long ago to have been written, and every lineament of his pure and spotless character, on which even enmity and envy have fastened no reproach, should have been held forth to the respect and admiration of those who enjoy the fruits of his labors. A scholar, bred probably at one of England's ancient Universities—a physician, accustomed to the practice of his profession in the circles of the British Metropolis—a teacher of religion, despised and persecuted by those among whom he had cast his lot—he came hither, the mild and benignant advocate of religious freedom, and, next to the exiled founder of Providence, was the truest friend, and the most generous benefactor of Rhode-Island. For twelve troubled years he resided in England as the representative of the colony, supporting himself during all this period, by his own labors, and by the mortgage of his estate in Newport. He was an intimate associate of many of the eminent men of the time, and was doubtless a witness of many of the stirring scenes of the English revolution. By his unwavering fidelity, by his winning manners, and his diplomatic skill, he maintained the rights of the colony, amid the changes and tumults of a revolutionary age, and at length, upon the restoration of the Stuarts, he succeeded in obtaining from the second





Charles, that Charter of civil government, which has shaped the institutions of the State, and identified itself with all her glory. The disinterested benevolence which had animated his life, still lighted up its closing hours. He died at Newport, in 1676, and, in his last will, bequeathed a handsome estate "for the relief of the poor, and the bringing up of children unto learning."

"Peace to the just man's memory—let it grow  
Greener with years, and blossom through the flight  
Of ages ; let the mimic canvass show  
His calm benevolent features ; let the light  
Stream on his deeds of love that shunned the sight  
Of all but Heaven ; and in the book of fame,  
The glorious record of his virtues write,  
And hold it up to men, and bid them claim  
A palm like his, and catch from him the hallowed flame."

I have referred more particularly to the early periods of the history of Rhode-Island, in illustrating the peculiarity of her position, and the value of her fame. But other periods are equally replete with historic interest, and present scarcely fewer claims upon the attention and the study of her sons. Her participation in the struggles of the Revolution has not yet been fully told. All that may illustrate the services she rendered the cause of national independence, whether by legislation or by arms ; all that embodies the spirit that made her the nursery of heroic commanders and of brave troops ; and all that may explain her reluctant adoption of the Federal Constitution, or the origin and growth of her great social interests—her commerce and her manufactures—her education and her religion—all these should be faithfully explored and carefully garnered up, away from the reach of oblivion.

There is also another period, equally important to the fame of the State, and it may be equally instructive in its lessons for mankind, the memorials of which we, of the present generation, are especially bound to preserve from decay. I refer to the recent civil controversy, whose



furious passions have scarcely yet died away. Whatever may be the opinions we entertain respecting it, all will admit the importance of treasuring up every thing that can explain its origin and issue, or illustrate its spirit and character. We owe it to the State, whose bosom has been rent, and whose peace has been disturbed—and we owe it scarcely less to the nation, whose interests are involved in the principles at issue, to see to it that its history be faithfully written—not with the pen of partisan passion, or beneath the narrowing influence of political prejudice; but that it be written in the light of the Constitution, with the spirit of calm philosophy and discriminating research. Let every thing pertaining to it be carefully preserved, that, when in a future age, after our petty interests shall have perished, and our short-lived passions shall have died away, the historian shall come to trace the causes of these unhappy strifes, he may find here the means of thoroughly understanding the principles at issue between the contending parties, and the spirit and the acts that have marked the character of each, as well as the issue that has sprung from the angry passions that have been so deeply stirred. Thus let the cause be committed to the tribunals of posterity. Let there be materials for removing every blot that may have been cast upon the escutcheon of the State—of refuting every calumny that has been uttered against her fair fame—that the truth, the simple unvarnished truth, may alone be committed to the records of history.

For purposes such as these, has the Rhode-Island Historical Society been established. It dates back to the year 1822, and in the order of time it was the fourth institution of the kind established in the United States. It owes its origin to the spirit and activity of a few true-hearted sons of Rhode-Island, who chanced to meet in the office of a gentleman,\* whose historic zeal, even then

\* Hon. William R. Staples, Author of the "Annals of Providence."





distinguished, has since led him onward to the most commendable labors, and the most valuable results. It was in the course of their conversation that the suggestion was first made of a Society, whose aim should be to collect and preserve, for the use of the historian, the scattered memorials of the successive periods of our progress as a Colony and a State. The suggestion was speedily carried into effect, and this Society commenced its useful career. Twenty-two years have since elapsed, and, amidst many discouragements, it has gone steadily forward in the prosecution of its worthy aims. Though it has never occupied a conspicuous place in the public estimation, and its active supporters have always been few, yet it has already done essential service in the illustration of the spirit and the characters that belong to our early annals. It has published five volumes of its Collections, and has garnered up in its archives a large mass of materials, which have already rendered valuable aid to writers of American history, and among which the future historian of the State or of the country, will find all that now remains of many a forgotten era of the past. Through the agency of a succession of indefatigable Secretaries and Directors, the Society has maintained an extensive and useful correspondence with similar associations in this country and in foreign lands. Its correspondence has rendered signal aid to the antiquarians of Denmark, in their attempts to decipher those mysterious inscriptions upon the rocky shores of New-England, which seem to point back to the visit of some unknown voyagers, centuries before the heroic enterprize of Columbus. The aid which was thus received has been acknowledged with grateful applause by this learned association, in the *Antiquitates Americane*,—the magnificent work, in which they have embodied their researches respecting the ante-Columbian periods of American history.

After many efforts and long delays, the Society, aided in



part by private munificence, has at length been able to rear the modest structure, whose completion we have to-day come up to celebrate. We have watched its progress, from its commencement to its final consummation. In hope and in joy, we now set it apart to the purposes for which it has been erected. We dedicate it to the muse of history—"the muse of saintly aspect, and awful form," who ever watches over the fortunes of men, and guards the virtues of humanity. We wish it to be a place of secure and perpetual deposit, where, beyond the reach of accident, or the approach of decay, we may accumulate all the materials for our yet unwritten history. We would gather here, all that can illustrate the early planting, or the subsequent growth of our State—the lives of its founders and settlers—the manuscripts of its departed worthies—the history of its towns—its glorious proclamations of religious liberty, and its heroic sacrifices, both in peace and in war. We would also gather here, the few remaining relics of the long perished race of Canonicus and Miantonomo, and keep them as precious memorials of men, who, though untaught in the lessons of civilized benevolence, received to their rude hospitality, the fathers of the State, when christian pilgrims persecuted and banished them. We would also deposit here, every thing that is connected with the interests of society within the limits of the Commonwealth—the chronicles of every controversy—the organs of every party—the wretched sheet, that in its day was too worthless to be read, if so be it illustrate the morals, the manners or the deeds of the time—and the most valuable volume in which genius and wisdom have embodied their immortal thoughts. We may hope, too, that within its alcoves, "rich with the spoils of time," may at length be seen the features and forms of the men, who in peace and in war, have reflected honor on the State, by the wisdom they have carried to the councils, or the glory they have added to the name of the country. Thus, distant genera-





tions may come up hither, and, while they study the memoirs of the past, they may gaze upon the lineaments of the men whose names they have learned to identify with whatever is heroic in action, or dignified in character.

It is to these objects, and to others such as these, that we dedicate this edifice,\* which we have reared in this friendly neighborhood of learning, as the depository of historic lore. They are liberal and noble objects, and worthy to command the respect, and enlist the efforts, of an enlightened community. They are limited to no local bounds. They embrace the whole territory of the Commonwealth, and concern as intimately the settlements on Rhode-Island—the asylum from persecution at Warwick—the romantic legends of Mount Hope and Narragansett, as they do the Plantations of Providence. Whether they are ever fully accomplished, will depend on the efforts which the members of this Society put forth, and upon the sympathy and aid which we receive from our fellow citizens throughout the State. We invite, therefore, the co-operation of all, in carrying forward the work which we have begun, and of which so much remains to be accomplished. The State is the common parent of us all, and her fame should be dear to us all. That fame, which two hundred years have established, has at length been committed to us, to guard and to perpetuate. Let us be faithful to the trust; and in the temple which literary genius may rear to American History, let us erect an humble shrine, and dedicate it to Rhode-Island, and adorn it with her stainless escutcheon of RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

\* See Note B.



## APPENDIX.

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### NOTE A.

The second Centennial Anniversary of the New-England Confederation, was celebrated by the Massachusetts Historical Society, at Boston, on the 29th of May, 1843. The Discourse on this occasion, was delivered by Hon. John Quincy Adams. In speaking of the several colonies that composed the confederation, the orator was obliged, of course, to refer to the exclusion of Rhode-Island. He does this with all the adroitness of a skillful apologist for a shameful transaction. He simply mentions the fact, that she was refused admission into the New-England Union, without noticing the circumstances in which she was placed, or giving any opinion of the treatment she received. The following, is the passage to which allusion is more particularly made, in the preceding Address :

“ But there was yet another—a fifth New-England colony, denied admission into the Union, and furnishing in its broadest latitude, the demonstration of that conscientious, contentious spirit, which so signally characterized the English Puritans of the 17th century, the founders of New-England, of all the liberties of the British nation, and of the ultimate universal freedom of the race of man.”—p. 25.

In the paragraphs immediately succeeding this passage, Mr. Adams presents a view of the events that led to the banishment of Roger Williams, and to the settlement of Rhode-Island, which is believed to be peculiar to himself, and which cannot be regarded otherwise than as exceedingly partial and inadequate, and as partaking of a license, quite beyond “the freedom of history.”

It would be difficult to determine, in what sense the conduct of Roger Williams can be termed an “insurrection,” or an “instigation to rebellion ;” and equally difficult, to ascertain what standard of humanity Mr. Adams had in his mind, when he vindicated the wintry exile of the Founder of Rhode-Island, as “mild treatment !”

## PROLOGUE

### CHAPTER I

The first of the great principles of the human mind is the principle of association. This principle is the foundation of all our knowledge and all our actions. It is the principle by which we connect ideas and actions together, and by which we learn from experience. The second principle is the principle of causality. This principle is the foundation of all our reasoning and all our science. It is the principle by which we understand the connection between causes and effects, and by which we discover the laws of nature. The third principle is the principle of morality. This principle is the foundation of all our conduct and all our society. It is the principle by which we determine what is right and what is wrong, and by which we guide our actions. These three principles are the pillars of the human mind, and they are the foundation of all our knowledge, all our reasoning, and all our conduct. They are the principles by which we live, and by which we progress. They are the principles of the human mind, and they are the principles of the human world.



## NOTE B.

## CABINET OF THE RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

This edifice, which is intended to be the permanent repository of the collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, is situate on Waterman street, in the immediate neighborhood of the Colleges belonging to Brown University. It is placed upon one of the most eligible sites in the city of Providence, commanding a delightful view of the University grounds, and, while easy of access, is more than usually exempt from the dangers of fire.

The dimensions of the Cabinet, are as follows: thirty feet six inches front, by fifty feet six inches rear, and twenty-nine feet high from the ground to the top of the cornice. The base of this edifice is of granite, but the walls are of rubble stone, stuccoed and colored, to represent granite.

The interior is very neatly finished, the whole being stuccoed, and ornamented with an entablature. The principal room contains galleries on three sides. Under the front gallery are two rooms, ten feet by twelve each.

The lot of land on which the Cabinet stands, is eighty feet by one hundred feet, and is handsomely graded. It is enclosed by a substantial fence, and is decorated with trees, which, in the course of a few years, will give to the building an air of classic repose.

The edifice was planned and built by Messrs. Tallman & Bucklin.



A

# DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

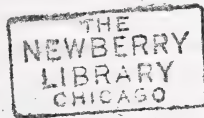
RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ON THE EVENING OF

Wednesday, January 13, 1847.

BY HON. JOB DURFEE,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF RHODE-ISLAND.



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

PROVIDENCE:

CHARLES BURNETT, JR.

1847.





# DISCOURSE.

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## GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

IN consequence of my compliance with the request of your committee—a compliance, perhaps, unfortunate both for you and me—it has become my duty to address you, and our fellow-citizens generally, upon a purely Rhode-Island theme. I shall, accordingly, speak to you of that Idea of Government, which was actualized, for the first time in Christendom, here in this State, by those who described themselves as “a poor colony, consisting mostly of a birth and breeding of the Most High, formerly from the mother-nation in the bishops’ days, and latterly from the New-England over-zealous colonies.” I shall speak to you of the origin of this idea—of the various forms which it took, in its progress toward its realization here, in minds of much diversity of character and creed; and of that “lively experiment,” which it subsequently held forth, that “a most flourishing civil state may stand, and be best maintained, with a full liberty in religious concerns”—a liberty which implied an emancipation of Reason from the thralldom of arbitrary authority, and the full freedom of inquiry in all matters of speculative faith.

To the founders of this State, and particularly to Roger Williams, belong the fame and the glory of having realized, for the first time, this grand idea, in a form of civil government; but we should honor them at the expense of our common nature, should we say that they were the first to maintain that Christ’s kingdom was not of this world, and that the State had no right to interfere between conscience and God. The idea must, undoubtedly, have had its historical origin in him who first endured persecution for conscience’s sake. “Saul! Saul! why persecutest thou me?” is a voice, implying a denial of right, which comes with a sudden shining round about of light, not only from Heaven, but has come, and shall ever come, from the depths of persecuted humanity, through all time; and, in proportion to the violence and spread of the persecution, has been, and shall be, the depth and extent of the cry. It is the protest of that all-present Reason, which is, at once, the master of the individual and the race, against the abuse made by the creature, of its own delegated authority. And that time never was, and never shall be, when humanity could, or can, recognize the right of any human power to punish for the expression of a mere conscientious belief.

By what fraudulent craft or cunning, then, was it, that this power to punish in matters of conscience came to be established throughout all Christendom, and has been continued down, in some countries, to the present day?—and how happened it that the odious office of punishing



heretics, and enforcing uniformity of opinion, fell, both in Roman Catholic and Protestant countries, on the civil magistrates? This question is fully answered by history.

When men had been brought to believe that they had found a divine and infallible teacher in the Bishop of Rome, it was not difficult to induce them to think that whatever opinion they might entertain, which he thought proper to condemn as heretical, was, in truth, a sin, which they were bound to renounce, on the peril of their salvation; and that then, on having renounced it, upon undergoing a voluntary penance, directed by some ecclesiastical authority, they might be assured of an absolution, and full restoration to the bosom of the church. Thus far it was believed that the spiritual power might proceed. But then, there were frequently those who were much more confident in the truth of their opinions than in the infallibility of the Pope, or their priestly advisers; and such persons, on their opinions being adjudged heretical, were, after all suitable admonition, condemned as incorrigible heretics, and excommunicated.

Yet this was not an extirpation of the heresy; and the Roman Church held that she had a divine right to extirpate heresy; and yet she also adopted the maxim, *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*—the Church abhors blood. The holy Church then could not take the *life* of the heretic; and, therefore, she contrived to shift off this odious office upon the secular authority, by imposing an oath upon the princes of Europe, generally, to sustain the Catholic faith, and to extirpate heresy out of the land. It was thus that it fell to the lot of the kings of Europe, and their subordinates, to become the executioners of the Church of Rome. And when the Reformation was established over a part of Europe, national churches took the place of the Roman church, and laws were passed to enforce uniformity; and thus, even in Protestant countries, the ungrateful task of punishing non-conformity and heresy fell on the civil magistrate.

It was by such craft that the power to punish for matters of conscience came to be established, both in Roman Catholic and Protestant countries, and that in both, the odious office of inflicting the punishment fell on the secular authorities.

But though the subjects of the Roman Church may have tacitly conceded to the Pope his claim to infallibility, and have submitted to an authority in the civil magistrate thus usurped over conscience and Reason: yet it is not hence to be inferred that the inborn consciousness of soul-liberty—of the title of Reason to be free—became, thereupon, utterly extinguished and lost. Indeed, long before the Reformation—long before the time of Luther—there were great numbers in Europe, who had, themselves, acquired some knowledge of the Scriptures, and had, consequently, adopted opinions quite inconsistent with the doctrines and traditions of the Church of Rome; and they appeared to be opinions in which they had abundantly more confidence than in the infallibility of the Pope. Now, when these people came to be condemned as heretics, and consigned to the secular authorities, to undergo the sentence and punishment of death, can any one suppose that the appearance of the civil magistrate deceived them into the belief that they had indeed committed a crime? Can any one doubt that they questioned *his* right—as they had questioned the infallibility of the Pope—to come in, with the sentence of death, between their consciences and their God, for a matter of faith in which their eternal





hopes were grounded? Indeed, their deaths were the strongest possible protest against the legitimacy of the power; since no one can be supposed to adhere to an opinion, as right, for which the magistrate may rightfully put him to death. The actual denial of the right of the civil power to interfere in matters of conscience, must, therefore, be coeval with the assumption of the authority.

But men sometimes act on a truth which they feel, though they do not clearly express it in words; and now was this denial of the claims of the secular authority put forth in language, and taught as a doctrine? History is not silent on this point. By a mere glance at its pages, we may follow the progressive development of the inborn idea of the rights of conscience and Reason in the express denial of the legitimacy of the authority usurped over both, from the earliest dawn, to the broad day, of the Reformation. Time will not permit me to dwell on this point. I am now hastening to the political manifestations of this idea, and I can do little more than say, that its protestations, against the exercise of secular power in the concerns of conscience, may be traced down to their results in the Reformation, more or less distinctly, in the doctrines of the Waldenses and Albigenses. These were names designating persons of a great variety of opinions, on minor points, and by which dissenters from the Roman Church were generally distinguished, long before the appearance of Luther. The doctrines of these dissenters, when first noticed, strongly resembled those of the primitive Christians. I cannot enumerate them; but, like the first settlers of this State, they seem to have regarded "Christ as king in his own kingdom;" and, by separating the church from the world, and by repudiating the Roman Church *on account* of its assumption of secular authority, they manifestly denied the right of the civil magistrate to interfere in the concerns of conscience. These people were early found in the valleys of Piedmont, and, at a later period, in the south of France. A crusade was, however, instituted against them by Innocent III., and they were driven from their homes, with conflagration and slaughter, into almost every European kingdom. Rome, thus undesignedly, scattered the seeds of the Reformation broadcast over Europe; and with them those principles and doctrines which expressly separated the Church from the secular power.

The doctrines of the Waldenses had been widely diffused at the dawn of the Reformation, and when Luther appeared, the number of dissenters from the Roman Church, who had adopted these, or doctrines similar to these, were great in every country in Europe; but particularly in Germany. Europe was, in fact, thus made ripe for an insurrection in favor of soul-liberty against soul-oppression, in every form, and particularly against that despotism which the Church asserted, and which it maintained in the last resort, by the agency of the secular power, over the reason and the consciences of its subjects. And, indeed, the Reformation was nothing less than an effort made by this Reason for its own emancipation.

But to break down its prison-walls was not to build its own house; to emancipate itself, was not to secure and establish its own freedom; and, therefore, in the very effort which it made for its emancipation, it necessarily kept this end in view—namely, the ultimate establishment of its own proper asylum, its own free home—so fortified, as to secure it against every attempt to enslave it. Let me endeavor to give this idea a more philosophical expression. This Reason exists in humanity, only in and through





the individual mind. Now, nothing could secure and establish its freedom but *the realization of the individual mind itself—free as its Creator had made it—in a congenial, social mind, standing out, fully developed and expressed, in correspondently free political institutions.* This was the idea; this was the then deeply-involved conception, to which the general mind of Protestant Europe gravitated, unconsciously, but of its own law, as to a common centre. I say unconsciously; but it had its vague and indeterminate aspirations and hopes. It ever had its object dimly and indistinctly before it, though receding at every approach. It was this idea which, for generations, shook Europe to its centre; it was this idea which, when the spiritual domination of Rome was overthrown, and Protestant Europe stood forth in renovated institutions, still haunted the minds of our English ancestry, as a great conception, which had not been, but might yet be, realized; it was this idea which brought them “from the mother-nation in the bishops’ days,” and finally, “from the New-England over-zealous colonies,” here, to the forest-shaded banks of the Mooshausic, where they, at last, fully realized it, in the social order and government of a State.

It may not be inappropriate to trace this idea, through the several stages of its progress, to its realization here. It will, at least, give us confidence in that which may follow, and will, I flatter myself, show that we are not dealing with a phantom of the imagination, but with a sober historical reality.

When the several Protestant governments of Europe had thrown off the spiritual dominion of the Pope, great was the expectation of their subjects that the individual mind would be no longer held in spiritual bondage. This expectation, however, was destined to a considerable disappointment. These governments had indeed thrown off the dominion of the Pope, but they substituted, in the place of it, a dominion of their own. Each established its own national church—Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Episcopal. The king, or head of the nation, became the head of the established order; and laws were enacted, or ordinances promulgated, to enforce uniformity and punish heretics. It is evident, however, that here had been a progress toward the realization of the idea which had caused the Reformation. In Continental Europe, the Lutheran and the Calvinist, under their respective church and state governments, were in the full enjoyment of that soul-liberty which would have been denied to them by the Pope. Each of their minds found its place in a congenial social mind: their idea of soul-liberty was realized. But how was it with those who could not conform to the established church? They were obnoxious to the laws; they were disfranchised, or punished for non-conformity, or heresy. That soul-liberty, for which they had struggled and suffered so much, during the trials of the Reformation, had not been realized; and they were, in respect to conscience, out of legal protection, and objects of persecution. And this was particularly the case in England, the fatherland of our ancestors. The Reformation had there been commenced, not by the people—not by a Luther and his associates—but by the government itself, and for the interest and the purposes of the government. It was commenced in the reign of Henry VIII.; and, after a sanguinary struggle during the reign of Philip and Mary, was at length recognized as fully established, in the reign of Elizabeth.



This event terminated, for ever, the spiritual dominion of the Pope in England, and established Episcopacy as an integral part of the monarchy, with the sovereign at its head. Here, too, was a progress toward the realization of the great idea, but it was a progress made only for the benefit of the Episcopalian; and, indeed, for his benefit only while he continued to adhere to that particular faith. The moment that reason or conscience carried him beyond the prescribed limits, he fell under the ban of Church and State, as a non-conformist or heretic. Nor did he find himself alone. Many there were, who, from the first establishment of the Church of England, thought that the Reformation had not been carried to a sufficient extent; and that the soul-liberty, for which they had endured so much, had not been realized. They were comprehended under the general name of Non-conformists, and consisted of those called Brownists, Puritans, Congregationalists, Independents, and so forth. Neither of these denominations felt that their idea of religious liberty had been realized in an Episcopal Church and State. On the contrary, they felt that how much soever of liberty there might be for the Episcopalian, there was but little for them. A part of those called Puritans, formed themselves into associations or churches, crossed the Atlantic, and established themselves at Plymouth, Salem, and Boston, and became the first settlers of New-England.

They sought these shores, to establish here, far from English bishops and their tyranny over reason and conscience, religious liberty for themselves and their posterity. This, at first, certainly seems to promise the final accomplishment of the great object of the Reformation—even the entire emancipation of the individual mind from spiritual thralldom, and the establishment of its freedom in the bosom of a congenial community. But, in fact, it proved to be only another step toward that end. What they meant by religious freedom, was not the freedom of the individual mind from the domination of the spiritual order, but merely the freedom of their particular church; and just as the English government had thrown off the tyranny of the Pope, to establish the tyranny of the bishops, they threw off the tyranny of the bishops, to establish the tyranny of the brethren. But still, a small community, under the rule of brethren, is nearer to an individual than a nation under a monarch; and the establishment, here, of these churches or religious associations, even under their ecclesiastical and civil forms, proved to be a great approximation toward the realization of the full freedom of the individual mind in congenial social institutions. True, they established nothing but the liberty of Church and State corporations, and of their respective members; but it was easier to break from the restraints imposed by a petty community, than from those imposed by the government and people of England; especially when the daring adventurer had the wilderness before him. And the form, which these religious associations took, was particularly exposed to the liability of provoking disaffection, even among themselves.

Their Church and State governments were essentially the same institution, under different names. The spiritual power was brought down to earth, and into all the relations of private and public life. It appeared in their laws—their judicial proceedings—in the administration of the government, and in all the movements of the State. Nothing of importance was done without the advice of the minister and ruling elders; and we







may well suppose that, under such a form of government, politics and religion were identical. It was designed to make men religious according to law; and there could not be two parties in the State, without there being also two parties in the Church; and to question the authority of either, was to provoke the resentment of both. The brethren were, indeed, free as long as they continued brethren; but Reason was, at that time, moving on to its emancipation, and it could dilate on nothing which did not bring it directly or indirectly into conflict with the Church. It, therefore, soon happened, and particularly in Massachusetts, that numbers of the brethren, of diverse minds in matters of faith, lost their place in the Church, were cast out, and exposed to the penal inflictions of the civil authorities.

Among the earliest, if not the very earliest, of these, was Roger Williams, the founder of this State. He had sought New-England (A. D. 1631) in the expectation that he might here enjoy that religious liberty which was denied him in the mother-country. He was a minister of the gospel. He at first preached in Plymouth, and afterwards became a minister of the church at Salem. He freely expressed his opinion on various subjects. He affirmed that the king's patent could not, of itself, give a just title to the lands of the Indians. He maintained that the civil magistrate had no right to interfere in matters of conscience, and to punish for heresy or apostacy. He contended that "the people were the origin of all free power in government," but that "they were not invested by Christ Jesus with power to rule in his Church;" that they could give no such power to the magistrate, and that to "introduce the civil sword" into this spiritual kingdom, was "to confound heaven and earth, and lay all upon heaps of confusion." In effect, he called upon the Church to come out from the magistracy, and the magistracy to come out from the Church; and demanded that each should act within its appropriate sphere, and by its appropriate means. It was then, for the first time, that the startling thought of a complete separation of Church and State was uttered on these Western shores; and it was then, also for the first time, that the individual mind, free in the sovereign attributes of Reason, stood forth before the Massachusetts authorities, and boldly claimed its emancipation, in the realization of its own true idea of government.

Such a mind was manifestly too large for the sphere of a Church and State combination. It had already broken from its bondage, and now stood out, independent, individual, and alone. Roger Williams was necessarily banished by the Massachusetts authorities. He was sentenced to depart from their jurisdiction within six weeks. But he went about, "to draw others to his opinion," and he proposed "to erect a plantation about the Narragansett bay." The rumor of this reached the ears of the magistracy; and, to defeat his intent, which had for them a most alarming significance, they proposed to send him to England, by a ship then lying in the harbor of Boston. He eluded their quest; plunged into the forest-wilderness; and, after spending the winter among its savage, but hospitable, inhabitants, attempted to form a plantation at Seekonk; but, defeated in this, came, at last, into the valley of the Mooshaucic, and here, with a small number of associates, of like aspirations, realized that idea of government, in its first form, which had so long allured, but still evaded, the pursuit of nations and men.



We have thus traced this idea of government, from the first indistinct expressions of itself in the doctrines of the Waldenses, through the struggles of that revolution known as the Protestant Reformation; we have next noticed the imperfect realizations of itself, in the Church and State governments of Europe; we have then seen it cross the Atlantic, in the form of small religious associations, to be again reproduced, imperfectly, in a combination of ecclesiastical and civil institutions; but we have now seen it, impersonated in the individual man, breaking from these restraints, and going forth into the wilderness, there to establish itself in an infant community, as the last result of centuries of effort.

We start, then, with this important fact, well worthy of being for ever fixed in every Rhode-Island mind: namely, that it was *here* that the *great idea*, which constituted the very soul of that religious movement which so long agitated all Europe, *first took an organic form* in a civil community, and *expressed itself in a social compact*.

Let us for a moment attend to the words of that compact; let us hearken to this, its first free expression of itself. We ought not to expect it to announce itself in the clear, strong tones of manhood; for it can speak, at first, only through an infant organization: it will only make known its advent into the material world, by lisping its earliest wants; but, then, it will lisp them so clearly and distinctly, as to leave nothing to be misunderstood.

"We, whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves, in active and passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, *in an orderly way*, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a town-fellowship, and such as they shall admit unto them, *only in civil things*."\*

Here the great idea resolves itself, manifestly, into two elements—Liberty and Law; the one, necessarily implied; the other, clearly and determinately expressed. Liberty, Soul-Liberty, they take from no earthly power or being. It is the gift of God, in that Reason which is within them, as His law, and which human authority can neither rightfully enlarge nor diminish. In this, its exalted and exalting element, the reason is left to deal freely, and according to its own method, with the Divine, the Eternal, the Infinite, the Absolute, and all that pertains thereto, without let or hindrance. But in the region beneath, in this *meum* and *tuum* world, the proper sphere of the common-sense understanding of mankind—where man may jostle man, where each may claim to occupy the same space, to possess the same thing, to do the same act—they each joyfully accept law at the hands of their fellows, cautiously requiring that it should be *only in these, their civil things*.

We have now this idea, with its two elements, as it first manifested itself in the infant community of Providence; but it was destined to extend thence, and organize itself in several towns. And, indeed, fully to try its capacity for government, it should take form in a population of a

\* In this compact, we have a government founded on the relations of domestic life—a Patriarchal Republic, ruled by the "*masters of families*." What Bill of Rights ever so effectually secured soul-liberty as this single phrase, "*only in civil things*?"





great variety of religious creed, and exhibit itself in a diversity of human elements—elements antagonistical, and, in some respects, even irreconcilable: for if they be perfectly homogeneous, such as Church and State require, they cannot give this idea the slightest development. Now, in point of fact, what were these elements?

Why, they were made up of men and women, of a diversity of creeds, who, flying from the soul-oppression of the governments of Europe, and the neighboring colonies, came hither to enjoy soul-liberty. Shortly following the settlement of Providence, the town of Portsmouth and the town of Newport were formed, and the settlement of Warwick was commenced; each with the same object: namely, the enjoyment of soul-liberty, in security from the soul-oppressors of Massachusetts and other colonies. In proof of this diversity of faith, we might cite Dr. Mather, if he could be considered trustworthy authority for that purpose. He represents us to be, at this period, "a colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Anti-Sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, and Ranters; every thing in the world but Roman Catholics and real Christians; so that if a man," continues he, "had lost his religion, he might find it at this general muster of opinionists." Well, the Rhode-Island idea may readily accept all the diversity which the Doctor has given it; for it knows how to organize it, and subject it to order and law. But we must lay the venerable Doctor aside: he lovingly deals too freely with unrealities and monstrosities of all sorts, to be reliable authority in spiritualities of any kind. Of what, then, did this diversity mainly consist?

Why, here were the plain matter-of-fact Baptists, ever the unyielding lovers of religious freedom—ever the repellers of State interference in the concerns of conscience—tracing their genealogy back through the Waldenses, even to the great original Baptist, John. Here, chiefly at Newport, were the familistical Antinomians—so called by their persecutors—the highly-gifted Ann Hutchinson for a season at their head, confiding in the revelations of the indwelling spirit, and a covenant of free grace. Here, too, chiefly at Warwick, was the mystical Gortonist, dimly symbolizing his doctrines in cloudy allegory. Here also was the Fifth Monarchy man, preparing for the Second Advent, and the New Reign on earth. Here, every where, was the Quaker—a quiet, demure, peace-loving non-resistant, in the world of the flesh; but who, on taking fire in the silence of his meditations, became indomitable in the world of spirit, and gave the unresisting flesh, freely, to bondage and death, in vindication of his faith. And here also, it is true, were free-thinkers of all sorts; some who had opinions, and some who had none. Surely, even before other denominations had established themselves within our borders, here were elements of diversity, all-sufficient to try the capacity of the Rhode-Island Idea of government.

Amid such variety of mind, there was little danger that men would melt down into one homogeneous mass—a result to which a Church and State combination ever tends—and lose their moral and intellectual individualities. Such variety of mind could not fail to be active, and to beget action, and to promote and preserve original distinctiveness of character, in all diversity. And such, we find, was the fact. I will endeavor to delineate the characters of a few of the leading minds of the colony, at this time, that we may form some faint conception of the originality and diversity



of character, which marked those who constituted the undistinguished numbers that they led.

Roger Williams and William Harris were the heads of two distinct political parties in Providence. Two marked and prominent traits of intellect gave a strong and decisive outline to the character of Williams: namely, originality of conception in design, and unyielding perseverance in execution. These, every noted fact of his life clearly indicate and prove. He could assert the right of the natives to the soil that contained the bones of their ancestors, and maintain it against the patent of England's sovereign, though he roused the wrath of a whole community against him. He could conceive a new idea of government, and contend for it, against Church and Court, with the penalty of banishment or death before him. He could be "sorely tossed for fourteen weeks, in a bitter cold winter season, not knowing what bed or bread did mean," rather than renounce this new idea. He could seat himself down amid savage nations—study their language, soothe their ferocious dispositions, make them his friends—that he might actualize, in humanity, his yet untried conception. He could write tracts in defence of this peculiar conception, while engaged at the hoe and oar, toiling for bread—while attending Parliament, in a variety of rooms and places—and sometimes in the field, and in the midst of travel. He could, at the age of threescore and ten, row thirty miles in one day, that he might engage in a three-days' discussion with George Fox, on some knotty points of divinity. He was, indeed, a man of the most unyielding firmness in support of his opinions; but no one can say that he ever suffered his firmness to degenerate into obstinacy. Whatever his doctrines were, he was sure to practice upon them to the utmost extent; and if further reflection, or that practice, showed that they were erroneous, he cheerfully abandoned them. He was, indeed, a remarkable man, and one of the most original characters of an age distinguished for originality of conception.

Harris was a man of ardent temperament, of strong intellectual powers—bold, energetic, ever active, and ever persevering to the end, in whatever cause he undertook. Nature seems to have supplied the deficiencies of his early education. Without having made the law a study, he became the advocate of the Pawtuxet purchasers, in their suit against the towns of Providence, Warwick, and others; and of Connecticut, in her claims against Rhode-Island to the Narragansett country. He was rather fitted for the practical, than the speculative; for the sphere of the senses, than for the sphere of the ideal. He could not, like Williams, contemplate both spheres at the same time in their mutual relations; and the consequence was, that the moment he passed into the ideal, he became a radical, and was brought, at once, into violent collision with Williams. Basing his theories, for a time, at least, on conscience, he contended that any person who could conscientiously say that he ought not to submit to any human authority, should be exempt from all law. He asserted and defended this position in a book; yet he was by no means a non-resistant himself. When he obtained political power, he wielded it with such effect against his adversaries, that they called him the *Fire-brand*. Like most men of genius, or eccentricity, who lead an active life, he has a touch of romance in his history. He had several times, in the prosecution of the complicated controversies in which he was engaged, crossed the Atlantic to the mother-





country. Upon the eve of embarking on his last voyage, as if seized with a presentiment of his destiny, he made his will, and had it forthwith proved before the proper authorities. He then left port for England; but, on the voyage, he was taken by a Barbary corsair, carried into Algiers, was there sold into bondage, and detained, as a slave, for one year. He was then ransomed; and, after traveling through Spain and France, he reached London, and there died shortly after his arrival. The mind of Harris was strong; that of Williams, comprehensive.

Samuel Gorton, the chief man of the settlement of Shawomet, (or Warwick,) was a person of the most distinctive originality of character. He was a man of deep, strong feelings, keenly alive to every injury, though inflicted on the humblest of God's creatures. He was a great lover of soul-liberty, and hater of all shams. He was a learned man, self-educated, studious, contemplative; a profound thinker; who, in his spiritual meditations amid ancient Warwick's primeval groves, wandered off into infinite and eternal realities, forgetful of earth and all earthly relations. He did indeed clothe his thoughts, at times, in clouds; but then, it was because they were too large for any other garment. No one, who shall rivet his attention upon them, shall fail to catch some glimpse of giant limb and joint, and have some dim conception of the colossal form that is enshrouded within the mystic envelopment. Yet, in common life, no one was more plain, simple, and unaffected, than Gorton. That he was courteous, affable, and eloquent, his very enemies admit; and even grievously complain of his seducing language. He was a man of courage; and when roused to anger, no hero of the *Iliad* ever breathed language more impassioned or effective. Nothing is more probable than that such a man, in the presence of the Massachusetts magistracy, felt his superiority, and moved and spoke with somewhat more freedom than they deemed suited to their dignity. Far more sinned against than sinning, he bore adversity with heroic fortitude, and, if he did not conquer, he yet finally baffled every effort of his enemies.

William Coddington and John Clarke, two of the leading characters of the island towns, were both men of well-balanced and well-educated minds; less remarkable for originality of thought, than for clear understanding and practical judgments. They constituted a very fortunate equipoise against the eccentricity and enthusiasm of such original geniuses as Williams and Gorton. The former furnished the ballast, and the latter the sails, of the ship. Each was necessary to the other, and both were indispensable to the whole.

Coddington, before he left Boston, was one of the chief men of Massachusetts. He was an assistant, re-chosen several times; treasurer of the colony, and a principal merchant in Boston. He was grieved at the proceedings of the Court against Mr. Wheelwright and others; and came to befriend and assist them on their removal to Newport. He was a common-sense, sober, staid, worthy man. The political difficulty into which he was brought, is as likely to have sprung from his virtues as his failings. He had in him a little too much of the future for Massachusetts, and a little too much of the past for Rhode-Island, as she then was. He died Governor of Rhode-Island, and a member of the Friends' Society.

Clarke was a man of more active and effective zeal in the cause of civil and religious liberty, than Coddington; and was highly competent



to have charge of its interests in the highest places. He was mainly instrumental in procuring the charter of 1663. Though originally a physician in London, he became Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Newport. He was a man of learning; the author of some tracts, touching the persecutions in New-England; and left, in manuscript, a Concordance and Lexicon—"the fruit of several years' labor." To do full justice to Portsmouth and Newport, it should be added, that their first settlers were, generally, men of more property, and better education, than those of Providence. But—

\* \* \* Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium \*  
\* \* \* Omnia Jupiter Argos  
Transtulit.

Such were the leading minds of this State, while yet in its rudimental condition, awaiting a transition to a more perfect form. And I might now say something of the impress which these characters, and their like, have manifestly left on their posterity; but this would be foreign to my present purpose. I have described them as they exist in the conceptions given by History, that we may have some notion of the diversity and originality of the contemporary moral and intellectual forces which were brought into action by them.

Now let us recollect that all this diversity and distinctive originality of character, were to be found within four little neighborhoods, consisting at first of a few families, and, as late as 1663—the utmost range of my present view—of not more than three or four thousand souls. Upon minds thus diverse, original, enthusiastic, active, and, in some respects, conflicting—each bent upon the enjoyment of the most perfect soul-liberty, consistent with a well-ordered community—the Rhode-Island idea, subsisting the same in each and all, took form—stood out in a constituted people—lived, breathed, and thought, in an organization of its own.

When you look for the Constitution of this State, in its essential form, go not to compacts subscribed by men; go not to charters granted by kings; go not to Constitutions given by majorities—they are but faint and imperfect expressions of the great reality; but go to this grand idea, coming down from the distant past—struggling through the blood and turmoil of warring nations—passing through the fiery ordeal of Church and State persecution; and here, at last, find it—standing out—realized—incarnated—in its own appropriated and peculiar people.

This idea, thus realized, consisted, as already stated, of two elements—liberty and law—the pure Reason above, and the common-sense understanding beneath. There is no necessary conflict between these two elements; on the contrary, each is necessary to the proper existence of the other. Yet we shall find, as we follow the internal development of this idea, that these two elements frequently encounter, and sharply contend for victory. The idea being thus given, every new occasion will call for a new application, which will infallibly bring these elements into action. And now let us follow it in some of its manifestations here in Providence, then a small village on the banks of the Mooshauc.

Would that it were in my power, by a mesmeric wave of the hand, to bring Providence before you, as she then was. You would see the natural Mooshauc, freely rolling beneath his primeval shades, unobstructed by





bridge, unfringed by wharf or made land, still laving his native marge—here expanding in the ample cove—there winding and glimmering round point and headland, and, joyous in his native freedom, passing onward, till lost in the bosom of the broad-spreading Narragansett. You would see, beneath the forest of branching oak and beech, interspersed with dark-arching cedars and tapering pines, infant Providence, in a village of scattered log huts. You would see each little hut overlooking its own natural lawn, by the side of fountain or stream, with its first rude enclosure of waving corn; you would see the stanch-limbed draught-horse grazing the forest-glade; you would hear the tinkling of the cow-bell in the thicket, and the bleating of flocks on the hill. You would see the plain, homespun human inhabitants—not such as tailors and milliners make, but such as God made; real men and women, with the bloom of health on their cheeks, and its elasticity and vigor in every joint and limb. Somewhat of an Acadian scene this—yet it is not, in reality, precisely what it seems. A new occasion has arisen in this little community, which requires a new application of their idea of the State.

Oddly enough—or, rather, naturally enough—this occasion has arisen out of the most interesting of domestic relations. Joshua Verin, that rude, old-fashioned man, with his Church and State idea still clinging to him, has been putting restraints upon the conscience of his wife. Yes, she is desirous of attending Mr. Williams' meetings, "as often as called for," and hearing his Anabaptistical discourses; and her husband has said, "she *shall not*;" and the consequence is that the whole community is in a buzz—the fundamental idea has been infringed. A town meeting is called on the subject, and a warm debate ensues; for Verin has his friends, as well as his wife. The proposition is, that "Joshua Verin, for breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience, be withheld the liberty of voting, till he declare the contrary." "And there stood up," says Winthrop, "one Arnold, a witty man of their company, and withstood it, telling them that when he consented to that covenant, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands, and so forth; and gave divers solid reasons against it. Then one Greene, he replied, that if they should restrain their wives, all the women in the country would cry out upon them. Arnold answered thus: 'Did you pretend to leave the Massachusetts, because you would not offend *God* to please *men*, and would you now break an ordinance and commandment of God, to please *women*?' " Winthrop, naturally enough, gives the best of the argument to Arnold; but he may not be fairly entitled to it.

It is the earliest record of a struggle in this State, between new-born Liberty and ancient Law. If the facts were, that Mrs. Verin, after faithfully discharging all her duties as a wife and mother, felt herself in conscience bound to attend Mr. Williams' meetings, and her husband restrained her, it was just such a restraint on conscience as was inconsistent with the new idea of government; and the question, on this supposition, was correctly decided. Liberty won the victory; and Joshua Verin, for a breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience, was properly withheld the liberty of voting till he declared the contrary.

But there was another occasion for the application of the fundamental idea, not more important in principle, but far more serious in its conse-



quences. It arose from an attempt of Liberty to come down upon earth, and realize herself entire, to the complete overthrow and destruction of all law and order. It was an idea given by pure reason—an idea subsisting only by relation to the Universal, the Absolute, the Infinite, the Divine—that sought to come down into a special form of humanity, and supplant the plain common-sense understanding of mankind. It was one of those ideas which propose to navigate the ship by plain sailing, over an ocean vexed with winds, and waves, and varying currents, and perilous with islands, and banks, and ledges, and rocks—where nothing but traverse sailing, aided by the chart, will do. It has been the fortune of Rhode-Island, from her infancy to the present hour, to balance herself between Liberty and Law—to wage war, as occasion might require, with this class of ideas, and keep them within their appropriate bounds. And before certain other States—some of them not fairly out of their cradles—undertake to give her lessons of duty in relation to such ideas, let me tell them that they must have something of Rhode-Island's experience, and have, like her, been self-governed for centuries.

William Harris, as already stated, published and sent to the several towns of the colony, a book, in which he maintained, that he who could say in his conscience that he could not submit to any human legislation, ought to be exempt from the operation of all human laws. You will perceive that he bases this proposition upon the liberty-element of the fundamental idea—that he would transmute the relation which subsists between the secret conscience and God, and with which no human law should interfere, into the relations between man and man, citizen and State, and thereby dissolve the government, establish the sovereignty of each individual, and terminate all law.

We may well suppose that, on such a proposition being announced—and announced in such a manner—by a man so considerable as Harris, the excitement in this little community was violent. The very existence of the fundamental idea was threatened, and the art with which the popular element was supported by free quotations from Scripture, excited no little alarm. Williams harnessed himself for the contest, and came forth in vindication of his idea. He made the distinction between the absolute liberty of conscience, and the civil government, clear, by a happy illustration. The crew of a ship might consist of all varieties of creed, and each individual worship God in his own way; but when called upon to do their duty in navigating the ship, they must all obey the commands of the master. Against his orders, given to that end, they must set up no pretence of soul-liberty—no affected conscientious scruples—do their duty they must, each as one of the crew enlisted for the voyage, on peril of suffering the penalties of mutiny. And he accordingly indicted Harris for high treason. The indictment, however, was not prosecuted to effect. Harris gave bonds for his good behavior, and a copy of the charge and accompanying papers were sent to England; thus ended the indictment, but not the consequences of the discussion.

The principles of the government had, indeed, become better understood; the limits of liberty, and the limits of authority, were doubtless more clearly fixed; but the feuds which the agitation generated, did not stop here. Two parties were created by the controversy; and, passing from questions of Liberty, to questions of Law, touching the limits of the





town, they used against each other whatever weapons they were able to command, and carried on their hostilities for twelve or thirteen years. The town was disorganized in the strife. Two sets of municipal officers were chosen, and two sets of deputies were sent to the General Assembly; nor were the dissensions composed, until the Legislature, by a special act, appointed Commissioners, whose ultimate determinations appear to have restored the old order of things.

Such were the developments which the new idea of government received, here in this town, in the infancy of the State. The first, bearing on the relations of domestic life, and the second on the relations of citizens to each other and to the State. But we are now to consider it in its applications to municipalities—to distinct corporations; and to show how it developed itself, when it gave law to a number of independent communities and resolved them into unity and organic form.

A free and absolute charter of civil incorporation, for the inhabitants of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, to be known by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay in New England, was brought by Roger Williams from England, in 1644; but, owing to the claims of Massachusetts, or other obstruction, it did not go into effect until May, 1647. This charter granted the most ample power to the said inhabitants, and such others as should afterwards inhabit within the prescribed limits, to establish such a form of *civil* government as, by voluntary consent of all or the greater part of them, should be found most suitable in their estates and conditions; and, to that end, to make and ordain such *civil* laws and constitutions, and to inflict such punishments upon transgressors, and for the execution thereof so to place and displace officers of justice, as they or the greater part should by free consent agree unto. I omit the proviso, as of no account here. Under this charter guarantee of the Mother Country, the Rhode-Island idea of government was called upon to organize itself with the most perfect freedom, on the four distinct and independent municipalities—Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick. And in what manner do you suppose it did develop itself on these distinct and independent bodies politic? Why, it developed itself in a manner the most natural, if not the most effective. It organized for itself a general form of government, which, if not precisely, was, at least strongly, analogous to the organization of these United States, under their present Constitution. I will give you a brief abstract of their form of government, from the "Annals of Providence"—a magazine of facts, from which I take the liberty to draw copiously.

The whole people, forming the General Assembly, met annually, for the enactment of *general laws*, and for the choice of general officers; as President—an assistant for each town, nominated by the town—General Recorder, &c. A general code of laws, which concerned all men, was first approved by the towns, (as the States adopted the Constitution, and still adopt amendments,) but before it could go into effect, it was ratified by the General Assembly of the whole people. All legislative power was ultimately in the whole people, in General Assembly convened. Towns might propose laws, (as States amendments to the Constitution,) and the approval of a General Court of Commissioners might give them a temporary force; but it was only the action of the General Assembly, (the General Government) which could make them general and permanent for

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all persons within the colony. But the towns had their local laws, (as the States have theirs,) which could not be enforced beyond their own limits; and they had their town courts, (as the States have State Courts,) which had exclusive original jurisdiction over all causes, between their own citizens. The President and Assistants composed the general court of trials. They had jurisdiction over all aggravated offenses, and in such matters as should be referred to them by the town courts as too weighty for themselves to determine; and also of *all disputes between different towns, and between citizens of different towns and strangers*. "It is apparent," continues the same authority, "that the towns, as such, parted with no more power than they deemed the exigency of the case required. They can scarcely be said to have consented to any thing more than a confederation of independent governments. If they intended a complete consolidation of powers, their acts fall far short of it. He who carefully peruses the whole proceedings of the original assembly of towns of this infant colony, will be struck with the resemblance there is between those towns, after that assembly had closed its labors, and the several States now composing the United States of America, under the Constitution." Yes, it is true, that at this early period, whilst Rhode-Island was yet in her rudiments, this, her Idea of Liberty and Law, took form in an organization that already foreshadowed the Constitution of this Union, and foreshowed its practicability.

But do I say that the framers of the Constitution of the United States found their model here? No; but this I do say, than when the several States of the old confederation, following our lead, had gradually abandoned their Church and State combinations, and adopted the Rhode-Island idea of government, that then, this idea thus given by her, did but repeat itself in its most natural and effective form in the Constitution of the United States, and the organization of the Union. Conceive, if you can, I will not say the practicability, but the possibility, of the Constitution of this Union, without that idea of government, which Rhode-Island was the first to adopt, and, against fearful odds, through long years of trial and tribulation, to maintain. Conceive, if you can, thirteen distinct and diverse Church and State governments taking form under one common Church and State government—and if you cannot, then do not deem that assertion extravagant, which declares that without Rhode-Island's idea of Liberty and Law, this Union would have been impossible. True, others might have adopted it, had there been no Rhode-Island. So others might have given us the theory of gravitation, had there been no Newton. Yet the fame and the glory of the discovery, nevertheless belongs to him. Let Rhode-Island claim her own laurels, and we shall see how many brows will be stripped naked, and how many boastful tongues will be silenced.

But let us follow this idea in its further developements. I can speak only of the most prominent; and am under the necessity of speaking of them with all possible brevity.

The government went on under the charter,—all the towns participating—until 1651, when a commission was granted to Coddington, by the Council of State, to govern the Island with a council chosen by the people, and approved by himself. This is properly called an obstruction—and an obstruction to the free development of Rhode-Island's peculiar







idea of government, it certainly was. She loved liberty, and she loved law and legal authority; but here was too much of the latter—it trenched too far on the liberty element. The main-land towns recoiled from it—fell back upon themselves, and, in the midst of intestine broils and dissensions, often fomented by Massachusetts, continued their government under the charter. The Island towns submitted: but submitted with deep murmurs and invincible repugnance. Roger Williams and John Clarke were immediately dispatched by the several towns of the colony, as their agents to England; and they soon procured a revocation of Mr. Coddington's commission; who, without reluctance, laid down the extraordinary authority conferred upon him. After some delay, owing to a misunderstanding between the Island and main-land towns, all returned to the old form of government, which continued until the adoption of the charter of 1663.

In the meantime, Rhode-Island. ("the Providence Plantations,") notwithstanding all untoward circumstances, continued to prosper, and her inhabitants to multiply. She was the refuge of the persecuted of all denominations, but particularly of those who suffered from the hands of her New England Sisters. She was their shelter—their ark of safety in the storm. Here were no hanging of Quakers, or witches—no scourge—no chain—no dungeon for difference of opinion. Still it was not, as yet, a place removed from all apprehension, or even from very great annoyance. It, for a season, seemed but as a raft,—formed from the fragments of diverse wrecks, and tied together, for temporary security,—upon the bosom of a raging deep, and which, but for the utmost care and diligence, might, at any moment, be rent in pieces.

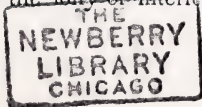
But the struggles and trials, through which Rhode-Island passed, with her sister colonies, did but give additional strength to her own love of Liberty and Law; and some notice of them belongs as truly to the history of her great idea, as the account which we are giving of its most important developements. In these struggles, whether carried on at the Court of the Stuarts, in the camp of Cromwell, or here in these Western wilds, it might be shown that she still baffled her adversaries, and triumphed alike over their diplomacy abroad, and their menaces and violence at home. I shall confine my remarks to the latter, and name some few prominent facts. They will afford a melancholy interest, but without, I trust, awakening any unkind feelings between the Sisters, as they now are. It will serve to mark the distinctive character of our State, and to confirm her identity. This is an important object to a State of such small territorial extent, and of such a limited and fluctuating population.

Here, then, was Rhode-Island in the midst of three great colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut—all bitterly hostile to the heretic—all anxious to rid themselves of her presence, and all regarding her as their natural and legitimate prey. And they, accordingly, fell upon her like three wolves upon the same lamb; and had not God been her shepherd, they must have torn her in pieces. Plymouth claimed the island of Rhode-Island; Connecticut, the Narragansett country; and Massachusetts claimed Providence and Warwick. They would not have left the poor heretics a single rod of ground, on which to rest the soles of their feet, or to bury their dead. Connecticut, repeatedly, asserted her claim to the Narragansett country; appointed officers at Wickford and other places, and often resorted to violence for the enforcement of her laws. Plymouth



was ever a more quiet and tolerant colony than either Massachusetts or Connecticut. She, indeed, insisted on her claims to the island of Rhode-Island, with such earnestness, that Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of remarkable intellectual endowments, and the kindest sympathies, apprehensive that she might again fall under the jurisdiction of Church and State, fled, with a number of her friends, to Long Island, where they were massacred by the Indians. Plymouth, however, never resorted to force. Her pretence to Shawomet she transferred, or yielded to Massachusetts, rather than attempt to enforce the claim herself. But Massachusetts rested not herself, and gave Rhode-Island no rest. Her claims to jurisdiction over Providence and Warwick, on various pretences, were unremitted. During the village quarrels in Providence, several of its citizens applied to Massachusetts for protection: and she induced them, by some writing of theirs, to pretend to put themselves and their lands under her jurisdiction; and, on this pretence, she actually assumed to exercise her authority, and to enforce her laws, here, in the town of Providence. Thus there were, here in the same municipality, two distinct code of laws, brought to operate on the same persons, and property; and this state of things was effected, according to Winthrop, with the *intent* of bringing Rhode-Island into subjection, either to Massachusetts or Plymouth. You may easily conceive the confusion into which things were thrown, by this atrocious interference in the concerns of this little community. Gorton, who was then at Providence, thought that it had a particular signification for him; and he, and a few of his associates, left Providence, and settled at Shawomet, afterwards called Warwick. There he purchased a tract of land of Meantinomy, the chief warrior sachem of the Narragansetts, and built and planted. But Massachusetts did not allow him to escape so. She assumed the claims of Plymouth, and procured from her an assignment or concession of her pretended jurisdiction over Shawomet. After this, two of Meantinomy's under-sachems, of that place, submitted themselves and lands to her jurisdiction; and then, three or four of the English inhabitants, who had made purchases of these sachems, imitating the example of a few at Providence, feigned to put themselves and property under her protection. Thus trebly fortified with pretences, Massachusetts entered the settlement, at Warwick, with an armed force of forty men, accompanied by many of her Indian subjects; seized Gorton, and his friends, and carried them prisoners to Boston. There they were tried for blasphemy, and for "enmity to all civil authority among the people of God;" and were sentenced to imprisonment in irons, during the pleasure of the Court—Gorton himself narrowly escaping sentence of death. This imprisonment was continued through the winter; and they were then discharged, on condition, that, if after fourteen days, they were found within Massachusetts, Providence, or Shawomet, (the place of their homes,) they should suffer death. These proceedings, far from inducing the people of Rhode-Island to renounce their idea of Liberty and Law, did but strengthen their attachment to it. But the government of the entire colony was soon called upon to defend its peculiar principles by direct action.

During the year 1656, a number of the people called Quakers (more properly Friends,) arrived in Boston, and began to preach and practice their doctrines. No experience had yet been sufficient to teach Massachusetts or her confederates the folly of interfering between God and con-









science; and she began to fine, imprison, banish, whip, and hang the Quakers. But these people could find, and did find, a place of refuge in Rhode-Island; whence they occasionally issued forth, as the Spirit prompted, into the neighboring colonies, and startled them with revelations from above. Whereupon the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England addressed a letter to the President of this place of refuge—the Plantations here—and urged him to send away such Quakers as were then in the colony, and to prohibit them from entering it. With this request, our government promptly refused to comply; alledging their principle of soul-liberty as the ground of their refusal. And they went even further—apprehensive that their adversaries might attempt, in England, where this sect was particularly obnoxious, to effect indirectly, what they could not directly accomplish here, they charged John Clarke, their agent at Westminster, to have an eye and ear open to their doings and sayings; and if occasion were, to plead the cause of Rhode-Island in such sort, as that they “might not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men’s consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, were not corrupted and violated.” Indeed, the love of their peculiar idea of government seems to have grown with the trials through which it passed, and strengthened with its growth. And what will prove that this love had become one and identical with the spirit of this people, and their peculiar idea dearer than life itself, are the facts to which I will now call your attention.

The first settlers at Providence and Warwick, were, at the commencement of their settlements, on the most friendly terms with their Indian neighbors. The Wampanoags, once a powerful people, though now considerably reduced, were on one side, and the Narragansetts, who, it is said, could number four or five thousand warriors, were on the other. A formidable array of savage strength this! and indeed, at that time, the Red Man may be said to have held all Rhode-Island’s blood in the palm of his hand, the slightest agitation of which would have consigned it to the dust. Roger Williams, sensible of the perils of his position, early “made a league of friendly neighborhood with all the sachems round about.” But this league with savages was necessarily very precarious. They were all alike jealous of the whites; and, if any one provoked a war, it would be, of necessity, an indiscriminate war of extermination—race against race—and Rhode-Island would be the earliest victim. Now the Indians were at war among themselves; and the United Colonies knew how to play off one hostile body against another for their own advantage; and they appear to have done so with little regard, to say the least, to the critical position of the heretic colony. Indeed, it so happens that its particular Indian friends were the particular objects of their unremitted hostility. Meantinomy and the Narragansetts, generally, were, (as has been said,) on the most friendly terms with Williams and Gorton, Providence and Warwick. They cherished and fostered those infant settlements, as savages best could; and it was against this chieftain and his people, that the United Colonies chose to excite Uncas and the Mohegans. Frequent strifes and, ultimately war and battle and slaughter were the consequences. Meantinomy was taken prisoner, and Uncas was advised by the United Colonies to put him to death. Acting on this advice, Uncas murdered his prisoner. The whole Narragansett people were, thereupon,



deeply agitated—hostilities were frequently threatened; nor did the memory of this atrocious deed die out of the Narragansett mind, ere the Wampanoags rose in arms, and the whole body of Indians raised the tomahawk against the whites, without discrimination. Now in 1643, previous to the death of Meantinomy, the four New England colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, formed a confederation for their better security against Indian hostilities. This confederation was, indeed, a castle of safety to them, but not to Rhode-Island. She was obliged to stand out exposed to every peril. Between the death of Meantinomy, and the outbreak of Philip's war, again and again, did the fearful cloud of Indian hostility darken the land, and again and again, did Rhode-Island apply for admission into this confederation, and was refused. Refused? No; not absolutely. If she would renounce her idea of government, and come in under the Church and State combination, then, indeed, they would take her under their protection; but until she did, she must stand out exposed to all the horrors of Indian war. Rather than accept such conditions, she chose the exposure. She stood out ready to brave the terrors of Indian ferocity—the midnight conflagration, and the indiscriminate butcheries of the tomahawk and scalping knife. Did she not love her Idea? Was it not dearer to her than life? Did she not feel it to be one and identical with herself, and that to renounce it, would be to commit treason against the Most High, and to terminate her own existence?

By this, her unconquerable love of her own glorious principles, she proved herself worthy of the Charter of 1653. Than that Charter, no greater boon was ever conferred by mother country on colony, since time began. No grant ever more completely expressed the Idea of a People. It, at once, guaranteed our ancestors' soul-liberty, and granted a law-making power, limited only by the desire of their Anglo-Saxon minds. It gave them the choice of every officer, from the Commander-in-Chief down to the humblest official. It gave to the State the power of peace and war. It made her a sovereignty under the protection, rather than the guardianship, of England's sovereign; so that the moment that protection was withdrawn, she stood independent and alone, competent to fight her own battles, under her own shield. I shall say nothing more of the powers conferred by this Charter; we have too recently put off, and hung on the castle walls, that Vulcanian panoply, still unscathed, glorious and brilliant with nearly two centuries' wear. We know what it was; God bless its memory!

There are those who are weak enough to think that they degrade the State, by calling this Charter the grant of a profligate king. The fools! As well might they think to degrade a man, by declaring that the garment which he wears was made by a profligate tailor. But those who are endowed with this high wisdom, have yet to learn something of the manner in which Divine Providence operates its results in the great humanity, and that even this Charter is not the work of mere man. They have yet to learn, that there exists, throughout the grand totality, one presiding and all-pervading Mind, which, ever as occasion requires, brings out one element of humanity in opposition to another—balances excess against excess, and makes the best and the worst, the highest and the lowest, of mortals, equally, the unconscious instruments of its great designs; and thus moves man steadily onward, to a higher and higher







sphere of duties and rights. Whence comes the tyrant's will, unless it be from himself? But whence come the instinct of self-preservation, and deathless hope and faith, and that feeling, which knows no master, for the heroic sufferer in virtue's cause? They are all from the Divine Author of humanity; and dwell alike in the beggar and the king.

When Charles the Second heard the tale of Rhode-Island's woes—of the wrongs inflicted upon her by her giant sisters—when he heard of the scantiness of her territory, of the smallness of her numbers—of the perils to which they had been exposed, and of those which they must still encounter, in these distant wilds, could he have been accounted subject to the common laws of humanity, had he refused her feebleness a single demand? Was not this Divine Power his master?—and did he not grant the Charter because he could not do otherwise than obey it? Yes—save as an instrument, neither Charles, nor Clarendon, nor Howard, nor other noble, gave that Charter. On the contrary, that very law of humanity which gave Rhode-Island's idea of government ere Rhode-Island was a name, and after passing it from generation to generation, gave it first to take form here in an infant people—that very law now clad in the panoply of the Charter, and bade it suddenly stand out in the midst of New England's colonies, like another Minerva flashed from the head of Jove.

Well might the surrounding colonies recoil from the splendid vision, and still look on in wonderment at its strange apparition. But be ye not too fearfully astonished, ye simple ones! There is no witchcraft here. It is but an ordinary prodigy of that "Wonder-working Providence" of which ye have spoken so much, and know so little. John Clarke, our agent at Westminster, has not been dealing with the wicked one—he has simply performed his duty as a part of the organization of the great humanity, and that, operating under the laws of its Divine Author, has accomplished this grand result.

Here, then, was Rhode-Island in the midst of them—after all, something more than the peer of her sisters. Her form has still the contour and softness of youth, and something more than a century of growth and discipline must roll away, ere the heart of the young sovereignty shall beat high in the maturity of its vigor, and her bone become hardened, and her muscles strong, to execute the purposes of her unconquerable will—and then—she shall march!—Yes, she shall MARCH!—and her banner shall stream daringly over Ocean's wave, and be rent in shreds on many a battle-field.

But there is some one who thinks, or says to himself; "This is extravagant language for Rhode-Island—a *little* State." My indulgent hearer, whoever you may be, do you know what that word *little* means, when thus applied to a social power—to an integral part of the grand social and moral organization of the race? Do you think that the greatness of a State is to be measured by the league or the mile? Are you really in the habit of estimating moral and intellectual greatness by the ton and the cord? Do you weigh ideas in a balance, or measure thoughts by the bushel? If you do, and your method be the true one, you must be decidedly right, and Rhode-Island is "a *little* State." But if the intellectual and moral be above the material and physical, and if that State be great, which actualizes a great central truth or idea—one congenial to the whole nature of man—one that must develope itself in a manner consistent with



the order of Divine Providence, the great course of events, and leave everlasting results in humanity—then Rhode-Island is not a *little* State, but one of such vast power as shall leave an ever-enduring impression on mankind. Give but the transcendent Mind—the great Idea, actualized—and whether it appear in an individual of the humblest physical conformation, or in the organization of a State of the smallest territorial extent, and the most limited population, it shall tend to raise all mankind up to its own standard, and to assimilate men and nations to itself. The principle of the hydrostatic balance has its reality in the mass of humanity, as well as in Ocean's flood; and give but the great fundamental Idea, brought out and embodied in the ever-enduring form of a State, and it shall act through that form, from generation to generation, on the elements beneath it, until it raise the enormous mass up to its own exalted level.

This, all history proves. The States which have produced the greatest effect on mankind, are not those which are of the greatest material dimensions; but, on the contrary, they are States which, though of small territorial extent, and often of very limited population, have actualized great fundamental truths or ideas. Take Athens, for example; with a ruling population of about twenty thousand, and with a territorial domain of about the extent of our own State, what a dominion did she hold, and holds she still, over the rising and risen civilizations of the earth! Barbarism took light from her lamp; infant Rome organized herself upon the basis of her laws; and surrounding nations were educated at her schools. Her ruling idea was given by the æsthetic element of the mind—strong in the love of the beautiful—and she carried this grand idea into all her social institutions—her religion, her philosophy, her science, her art, and into the athletic discipline of her youth. It reflected itself from the physiognomy and physical conformation of her people; from the statuary of her temples, and from her unnumbered monumental structures. She established an empire of her own, which shall out-last the pyramids—which shall be as enduring and as broad as human civilization. She still teaches by her example, and rules in the truth of her precepts.

Take ancient Judea—a State of small domain, and an outcast among the civilizations of old. The fundamental idea, or great truth, upon which her government was based, and which she carried into all her institutions and sacred literature, was the Idea of the Unity of the Divine. What an influence has this single idea, as derived from her, had upon all mankind! You may trace its influence, through history, from her fall to the present day. It has brought down with it, to all Christian, to all Mahometan nations, a knowledge of her institutions, and the influence of her laws; and, regarding Christianity merely in a secular point of view, as necessarily springing from her in the order of Divine Providence, what a power does she now exert throughout all Christendom! We can put our eye on nothing to which she has not given modification and form. She lives in our laws and institutions—the very current of thought now passing through our minds, and every hallowed sentiment by which we are now moved, may be traced back to the fundamental truth on which her legislator based that *little* State.

To say nothing of Tyre, or Carthage, let us take Rome—a single municipality, that was called, by the state of the world, to propagate her own Idea of Order and Law, among the barbarous nations of the







earth. Rome and the Roman Empire date their origin from the organization of the fugitives and outlaws, that were gathered within the narrow compass of the trench struck out by the hands of Romulus. Within this small space, the roots of an empire; such as the world had never before, and has never since seen, were planted; and thence they shot forth, assimilating to themselves every thing that they touched. Rome went forth in her legion, and did but repeat, on the barbarism of the earth, her own great Idea of Order and Law. She everywhere established her distinct municipal order—assimilated diverse rude nations to her own civilization, and thus enstamped an everlasting image of herself on the race.

I might name many other Republics, of very limited territorial extent and population, but which actualized ideas that transcended the ordinary standard of their age, which have performed a noble part in history, and left an abiding impression on mankind—I might name the small Italian Republics of modern times, and particularly of Venice—that Venice, who, with no boast of territorial extent, built her domain in the sea—drove down her piles in the Adriatic, and enthroned herself thereon as Ocean's queen. But I will not consume your time; enough has been said to show that we must not estimate the capacity and destiny of States by the extent of their territory, or the figures of their census—these are but contingent results, which may, or may not, justify claims to the honor and gratitude of mankind. But, on the contrary, would you truly determine the genius and destiny of a State, ascertain what part—what function in the grand organic order of humanity, is hers—what that principle is which has given her being, informed her with its own life, and actualized itself in her social and political organization; and, if that principle gives a contingent and secondary idea—one inferior to the general mind of the age in which it is called to act a part, such a State, however large its territory or population, cannot be great—it will ever be little, and will become less and less, until it die, and pass out of the system. The order of Divine Providence, the course of events, and the progress of the race, are against it. On the other hand, if that principle give a great fundamental idea or truth—one congenial to the immutable laws of the whole social humanity—one germinating from the inmost soul of man, and transcending the general mind of the age in which it is to take form—such a State cannot be little; however small its beginnings, its destiny is to act a high part in the grand course of events, and to become greater and greater in the worlds both of matter and mind, until, in the fullness of time, it has reflected its image entire, into the bosom of every civilized nation on earth.

Such was Rhode-Island's Idea, and such was Rhode-Island's destiny. (yet to be fulfilled,) the moment she took organization under the Charter of 1663.

Brevity requires that I should now pass from the history of the internal action of this idea, in order to take some notice of its external action, and of the exhibition it made of itself, in the grand theatre of the world. For this purpose, I shall inquire what part Rhode-Island acted in the sisterhood, at a memorable period in her and their history; and we can, thereby, the better determine whether there be, or be not, that, in her conduct, which will give us confidence in these large promises and exalted hopes.

We must suppose, then, that from the adoption of her charter, more



than a century of growth and discipline has rolled away, and brought us to the verge of the Revolution.

And where is Rhode-Island now?—that young sovereignty, so royally armed in her Charter, that she seemed like a goddess suddenly shot down among wondering mortals, from a celestial sphere. Where is she now? There she stands—one of the banded sisterhood—among the foremost, if not the very foremost of the Thirteen. But on whom does she flash the lightnings of that well-burnished helmet and shield, and level that glittering lance with the aim of her yet more glittering eye? It is on “the Mother Nation”—on Parent England! What cause has she for this hostile attitude, and most unfilial ire? Is not her Eden Isle still the resort of England’s gentry? and what favor has been denied her? Or what decision, on the numerous controversies between her and her sister colonies, has indicated a single unkind feeling in Mother England’s breast? Why, then, does she now band with those Sisters, and raise the hostile lance against England’s protecting arm? Ah! she has come on a great mission; not sent by England, but by England’s Lord; and she is here, in obedience thereto, to perform her part in a great movement of the progressive humanity. She felt her own Idea of Liberty and Law threatened in the wrongs inflicted on her Sisters; and, oblivious of the past, she stands here, banded with them, in vindication of her Idea. She has, moreover, assimilated them to herself. She has conquered by her example. They have adopted, or are adopting, her own just Idea of Government; and to defend it, has become the common duty of all.

But let us come out of allegory, into plain, matter-of-fact history, that spurns all embellishment. Rhode-Island, according to her high promise, should take a foremost part in this great movement, both in counsel and in action; and now, let us see whether she disappoints our expectations.

Do not understand that I mean to give even a general historical outline of her services and sufferings: I propose merely to name some prominent facts. But in order that these should be duly appreciated, it is necessary to state, that Rhode-Island, at the commencement of our struggle with Great Britain, did not contain a population of more than fifty thousand, of which, probably, one-fifth part was on the islands of the bay and coast; and these were in the occupation of the enemy, for nearly three years of the war;—that the State Treasury was already exhausted, and largely in debt, by reason of the expenses incurred during the French war;—that she was extensively engaged in commerce, to which her beautiful bay and harbors invited her enterprising people, at the same time that they exposed them to the depredations of a naval power. Now, under all these disadvantages, in what was it that Rhode-Island was foremost? Doubtless, each of the Thirteen may claim to be foremost in some things; but I speak only of those first steps, which manifested great daring, or were followed by great results. In what great movements, then, bearing this impress, was she first?\*

She was the first to direct her officers to disregard the Stamp Act, and to assure them indemnity for doing so.

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\* See the Annals of Providence.





She was the first to recommend the permanent establishment of a Continental Congress, with a closer union among the colonies.

She was among the first to adopt the Articles of Confederation, and it may be added, the last to abandon them.

She was the first to brave royalty in arms.

Great Britain was not then here, as at Boston, with her land forces in the field, but with her marine—behind her wooden walls—on the flood—and before the casting of the three hundred and forty-two chests of tea—the East India Company's property—into the harbor of Boston, and before the battle of Lexington, men of Newport had sunk His Majesty's armed sloop Liberty; and men of Providence—after receiving, and returning *with effect*, the first shots fired in the Revolution—sent up the Gaspee in flames.

She was the first to enact and declare Independence.

In May, preceding the declaration of the Fourth of July by the Continental Congress, the General Assembly of this State repealed the act more effectually to secure allegiance to the King, and exacted an oath of allegiance to the State, and required that all judicial process should be in the name of the State, and no longer in His Majesty's name; whereby Rhode-Island, from that moment, became, and is at this day, the oldest sovereign and independent State in the Western World.

She was the first to establish a naval armament of her own; and here, on the waters of her own Narragansett, was discharged, from it, the first cannon fired in the Revolution, at any part of His Majesty's navy.

She was the first to recommend to Congress the establishment of a Continental Navy. The recommendation was favorably received, and measures were adopted to carry it into effect; and when that navy was constructed, she gave to it its first Commodore, or Commander-in-chief—Esek Hopkins, of North Providence. She furnished three captains, and seven lieutenants, they being more than three quarters of the commissioned officers for the four large ships, and, probably, the like proportion of officers for the four smaller craft. Under this command, the first Continental fleet—the germ of our present navy—consisting of eight sail, proceeded to New Providence, surprised that place, took the forts, made prisoners of the Governor and other distinguished persons, and seizing all the cannon and military stores found there, brought them safely into port, as a handsome contribution to the service of the American army. On our alliance with France, this armament gave place to the French navy.

But this was not the only kind of naval warfare adopted. The harbors of our State swarmed with armed vessels. Our merchants constructed privateers, or armed ships already on hand, and our sailors manned them, and in spite of the utmost vigilance of the British cruisers, they escaped to the Ocean, and were wonderfully successful. British property, to an immense amount, was brought into port, by which the wants of the people and army were supplied; thus producing a double effect—invigorating their country, and enervating her foe. A questionable mode of warfare this, it may be said; and so it may be said, that every mode of warfare is equally questionable. Nothing but the direst necessity can, in any case, excuse war; but our ancestors seem to have thought that, when once the war was commenced, the shortest way, to conquer peace, and secure their independence, was the best; and believing that the sen-



sorium of the enemy might be found in his purse, they struck at that, and not without tremendous effect. At any rate, in this business, it must be conceded, that Rhode-Island was foremost. In fact, this port, here at the head of the bay, so swarmed with this terrible species of insect war-craft, that the enemy called it "the Hornet's Nest."\*

But whilst she was thus engaged in carrying war over the Ocean, she was not behind her Sisters in carrying it over the land. She raised two regiments at the commencement of the war—twelve hundred regular troops—she furnished her quota to the Continental Line, throughout the war. In addition to these, from the sixteenth of December, '76, to the sixteenth of March, '80, she kept three State regiments on foot, enlisted for the State or Continental service, as occasion might require. They were received as a part of the Continental establishment, and one of them, at least, was in the Continental service under Washington.

To characterize the Rhode-Island officers who served in that war, it will suffice to name a few of them.

There was General Greene, second only to Washington; perhaps his equal in the field. There was Hitchcock and Varnum, distinguished members of the bar, who did honor to the profession of arms. Hitchcock commanded a brigade, consisting of five regiments—two from Massachusetts, and three from Rhode Island—at the battles of Trenton and Princeton; and "for his signal gallantry received the special thanks of Washington, in front of the college at Princeton, and which he was requested to present to the brigade he had so ably commanded."† Varnum commanded a division of Washington's army on the Delaware; which included within it, the garrisons of Fort Mifflin, and Fort Mercer or Red-Bank. There were, also, Col. Christopher Greene, Col. Jeremiah Olney, Col. Lippett—I merely give their names—Major Thayer, the true hero of Fort Mifflin; Talbut, that amphibious Major, sometimes on the deep in some small craft, boarding His Majesty's galley, (the Pigot,)—sometimes on land, driving at once into camp, three or four British soldiers, whom he, alone, had captured—many were his daring adventures and hair-breadth escapes—General Barton, the captor of Prescott, and Capt. Olney, the foremost in storming the first battery taken at Yorktown. Many others might be named; but what a host of recollections rise in the mind, on the bare mention of these!

As to the services of our troops in the Continental line, it is sufficient to say that they were engaged in every great battle fought under Washington during the war; and there are instances in which they sustained the whole shock of the enemy; as at Springfield, and at Red-Bank, where twelve hundred Hessians were repulsed with great slaughter, by the five hundred Rhode-Island men there, under the command of Col. Greene. These, together with the State regiments, were with Sullivan in his expedition against the enemy at Newport, and were, it is believed, the rear guard of the retreating army. The battle on Quaker Hill has never been appropriately noticed in history. "It was the best fought action during

\* For this fact, I am indebted to the venerable Wm. Wilkinson.

† See the letter of Mr. J. Howland, the venerable President of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, as quoted by Mr. Updike, in his "Memoirs of the Rhode-Island Bar," p. 148.





the Revolutionary War."\* I use the language of Lafayette. There it was, that this rear guard checked the pursuing forces of Britain, and sustained an orderly retreat; there it was, that our black regiment, with their cocked hats, and black plumes tipped with white, moving with charged bayonets as a single man, twice or thrice rushed on the banded force of British and Hessians, and as often drove them from the ground.† The estimation in which the Rhode-Island regiments were held, both by the Commander-in-chief, and the Continental Army, may be shown by a short conversation between Washington and Col. Olney. There was some disturbance in the Rhode-Island line, and Washington, riding up to Olney's quarters, said, in a state of excitement not usual for him, "Col. Olney! what means this continued disturbance among the Rhode-Island troops?—*they give me more trouble than all the rest of the army.*" "I am sorry for it," said Olney, composedly. "But, General, that is just what the enemy say of them." A smile lit up the face of Washington, and the cloud passed from his brow. The freedom of this reply could have been warranted by nothing, but the known estimation in which the Rhode-Island troops were held, both by Washington and his army.

For nearly three years, during the time that Rhode-Island was making these efforts, the territory occupied by one-fifth part of her inhabitants, was, as I have said, in possession of the enemy, and one-half of the remaining portion of her people may be said to have slept within range of his naval cannon. The shores were guarded; artillery companies were stationed in every town bordering on the bay; the militia were constantly either under arms to repel assaults, or ready at a moment's warning, for that purpose; and in Sullivan's expedition, they were called out in mass. Such were the trials through which she passed, and such the efforts which she made, that on the return of peace, both State and people were utterly bankrupt. All the property within the State, both real and personal, would not have paid the debts of either. The subsequent laws, making paper money a tender, were, in fact, bankrupt acts. Massachusetts, by not adopting this course, forced the oppressed debtors into a resistance of the execution of her laws, and finally into rebellion and civil war. I say not which was the better course. It was, in fact, a choice between great and unavoidable evils; but the course of each State was perfectly characteristic. Rhode-Island dissolved the contract, and saved the debtor; Massachusetts saved the contract, and ruined the debtor. In Rhode-Island, Mercy triumphed over Justice; in Massachusetts, Justice triumphed over Mercy.

Such was the conduct of Rhode-Island, that young sovereignty, when called upon to act out of herself, and upon the world around her. And has she fallen, in anything, short of the high promise given by her fundamental Idea? Have our expectations been in any degree disappointed? Is she not, thus far, first among the foremost, in the great cause of Liberty and Law? In this struggle, she has acted under the liberty element of her Idea, and it has triumphed over illegal force.

But she is now called to another trial, in which the Law element, by force of circumstances, is destined to predominate. She is called to adopt a new constitution, prepared by the Sisterhood for themselves and her; and

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\* Annals of Providence, p. 256.

† Tradition.



she shrinks from it, as repugnant to her Idea of Government. She had been the first to propose the permanent establishment of a Continental Congress. She had been among the first to adopt the Articles of Confederation under which it was held, and she was now to be the last to abandon them. She had ever felt and acted as a sovereignty, even under England; and every freeman in the State felt her sovereignty and glory to be his own. His own individuality—his own conscious being was identified with her Idea, and he lived, moved, and breathed, as if he were one and identical with her, or she one and identical with him. Under the old confederation, this sovereignty would have been continued, and with it, the same free individuality—the same glorious conceptions of Liberty and Law that had come down from of old. But under the new Constitution—"through what new scenes and changes must she pass—through what variety of untried being," under constraint and limitation to which she had hitherto been a stranger—exposed, perchance, to the annoyance of a new brood of States, or States, at least, that shared not in her sympathies, and which might become hostile for imputed political, if not religious heresies—she paused—she hesitated.—If her Sisters, with something of their Church and State Ideas still clinging to them, and with their royal Governors just cast off—could put on this straight jacket—why let them do it—it might be natural enough for them—but she would hold to the old Confederation whilst she could—she could use her arms and her hands under that; but under this, they would be tied down; and she must pass her helmet and shield and lance into other hands, and trust them for the defense of her own glorious Idea—she determined to cling to the confederation—and who can blame her? I do not—and she did cling to it, until she stood alone, and was obliged to abandon it.

If Rhode-Island lost something of the freedom of her sovereignty, by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, it must be admitted that she gained much, by the new position into which she was brought with her Sister States. She, in fact, acquired a new stand-point, and vantage ground, from which the influence of her Idea of Government, and of her enterprising and inventive genius has been transmitted, and is continually passing, into every portion of the Union. The Constitution of the United States, itself, had adopted her own original Idea—indeed, without it, as I have said, it could not have been established; and whatever remnant there was of old Church and State Ideas, has, under its influence, long since passed away. In the Constitution and Government of the Union, her own conceptions of Liberty and Law, have been conspicuously exemplified to the nations of the earth; and have produced, and are still producing, on them their legitimate and necessary effects.

From this new vantage ground, she has made her enterprising and original genius more sensibly felt by all. Having cast aside her shield and her lance, Minerva-like, she turned to the spindle and the loom. Without abandoning Agriculture or Commerce, she gave her attention to the Manufacturing Arts. The first cotton, spun by water, in the United States, was spun in North Providence. The first calico printed in America, was printed in East Greenwich. It was from these beginnings that the cotton manufacturing business of this country sprung, and soon came to give a most important direction to the legislation and policy of the Union. It was in 1816, that the manufacturing interest, chiefly of





this State, presented to Congress the great question of protection to American industry, in the most effective form. And from that time to the present, it has been a question upon which the policy of the Government has turned, and, in reference to which, administrations have been established and displaced, as this or that party prevailed.

But she has given occasion to a question more important still—a question touching her own original conception of regulated liberty—a question, however, which she settled for herself, by direct legislative enactment, and almost by judicial decision, nearly two centuries ago; but which now comes back upon her, by reason of the new relations and immature influences into which she is brought. I allude to that question which has grown out of events too recent for a particular discussion here, and at this time, but which I mention, because it forms a necessary part of the History of her Idea of Government. It is a question, which, when raised under the Constitution of the United States, it was well should be first raised and decided here, in a State which has been so long accustomed to preserve a due equipoise between Liberty and Law; and be, then, presented to those States, who are yet vernal in the enjoyment of that Liberty which has been so long her own. Upon their ultimate decision of this great question, may turn the destinies of this Nation. Yet if Rhode-Island continue true to her own just conceptions of government, we need not despair of the final re-organization, even of the elements of anarchy and misrule. By force of her own example, shall she restore them to order. The future is big with fates, in which she may be called to enact a higher part than any that has yet been hers. Let her gird herself for the coming crisis, whatever it may be. Let her recollect her glorious Past, and stand firm in her own transcendent Idea, and she shall, by that simple act, bring the social elements around her, even out of anarchy, into Order and Law.

We have thus reviewed the history of Rhode-Island's Idea of Government—of its internal development, and of its external action; and I now ask you, fellow-citizens, all, whether there be not that in its history, which is well worthy of our admiration; and that in it, which is still big with destinies glorious and honorable? Shall the records which give this history still lie unknown and neglected in the cabinet of this Society, *for the want of funds* for their publication? Will you leave one respected citizen to stand alone in generous contribution to this great cause?—I ask ye, men and women of Rhode-Island!—for all may share in the noble effort to rescue the history of an honored ancestry from oblivion—I ask ye, will you allow the world longer to remain in ignorance of their names, their virtues, their deeds, their labors, and their sufferings in the great cause of regulated liberty? Aye, what is tenfold worse, will you suffer your children to imbibe their knowledge of their forefathers, from the libelous accounts of them given by the Hubbards, the Mortons, the Mathers, and their copyists? Will you allow their minds, in the germ of existence, to become contaminated with such exaggerations, and perversions of truth, and inspired with contempt for their progenitors, and for that State to which their forefathers' just conceptions of government gave birth? Citizens!—be ye native or adopted, I invite ye to come out from all minor associations for the *coercive* development of minor ideas, and adopt the one great idea of your State, which gives center to them all, and, by hastening



onward to its natural developments, you shall realize your fondest hopes. Let us form ourselves into one great association for the accomplishment of this end. Let the grand plan be, at once, struck out by a legislative enactment, making immediate, and providing for future appropriations; let the present generation begin this work, and let succeeding ones, through all time, go on to fill up and perfect it. Let us begin, and let our posterity proceed, to construct a monumental history that shall, on every hill, and in every vale—consecrated by tradition to some memorable event, or to the memory of the worthy dead—reveal to our own eyes, to the eyes of our children, and to the admiration of the stranger, something of Rhode-Island's glorious Past. Let us forthwith begin, and let posterity go on, to publish a documentary history of the State—a history that needs but to be revealed, and truly known, in order to be honored and respected by every human being capable of appreciating heroic worth. Let a history be provided for your schools, that shall teach childhood to love our institutions, and reverence the memory of its ancestry; and let myth and legend conspire with history, truly to illustrate the character and genius of ages gone by, and make Rhode-Island, all one classic ground. Let a literary and scientific periodical be established, that shall breathe the true Rhode-Island spirit—defend her institutions, her character, the memory of her honored dead, from defamation, be it of the past or present time—and thus invite and concentrate the efforts of Rhode-Island talent and genius, wherever they may be found. Let us encourage and patronize our literary institutions of all kinds, from the common school, to the college—they are all equally necessary to make the Rhode-Island Mind what it must be, before it can fulfill its high destinies. Let this, or other more hopeful plan, be forthwith projected by legislative enactment; and be held up to the public mind, for present and future execution, and we shall realize by anticipation, even in the present age, many of the effects of its final accomplishment. It will fix in the common mind of the State, an idea of its own perpetuity, and incite it to one continuous effort to realize its loftiest hopes. If Rhode-Island can not live over great space, she can live over much time—past, present, and to come—and it is the peculiar duty of statesmen to keep this idea of her perpetuity constantly in the mind of all.

#### LEGISLATORS OF RHODE-ISLAND!\*

The State which you represent, is not an institution for a day, but one for all time: Generation after generation passes away, but the State endures. The same organic people still remains; the places of those who pass off are filled by those who come; and the same sovereignty still lives on and on, without end. Every particle of the human body is said to pass off out of the system, once in seven years; yet the same organic form still continues here to act its part—to be rewarded for its good, and punished for its evil deeds. It is just so with that body which constitutes the State. The organized people continues ever the same. The individuals which compose it, are its ever-coming and ever-fleeting par-

\* The members of the General Assembly, then in session at Providence, were invited to attend at the delivery of this discourse; and most of them, it is believed, were present.





ticles, animated within it for a time, and then passing off to be seen no more: but unlike our own frail structures, it is qualified to endure through all time, and, therefore, in all that is done, this idea of its perpetuity should be ever kept before it. A great object is accomplished, when once a people is fully impressed with this idea; it almost secures the immortality of which you thus oblige it constantly to think. One great curse of all popular institutions has ever been, a resort to paltry, temporary expedients—to legislation that looks only to the day, or the petty requirements of the present. But once impress the people with the idea of its own perpetuity, and induce it to act thereon, and you change its character—you humanize it—you make it a being “of large discourse, that looks before and after.” Once ingraft this idea upon the minds of the people of this State, and they will live in it—they will love it. They have now a boundless future before them, but “shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon it.” Vague and indefinite hopes they indeed cherish, but they can not anticipate what is to be realized. Strike out, then, the grand plan for the future—give some distinctness to the object of the State's high aim—to the elevated stand, in distant ages, to which she aspires—and, even now, they shall live in that future, just as they already live in the past. They will enjoy it by anticipation, and cheerfully urge the State on to that high destiny, which the God of Man and Nature designed should be hers.

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#### NOTE.

I can not refrain from repeating the acknowledgment of my obligations to the author of the “Annals of Providence,” for many valuable facts and suggestions, personally communicated of which I have availed myself in the preparation of this discourse. Nor can I forget my obligations to the venerable Wm. Wilkinson, whose memory, at his present very advanced age of the events of the Revolution, seems to be as perfect as if they were the occurrences of yesterday.

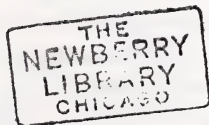
J. D.



**DISCOURSE,**  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
**RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,**  
BY  
**JUDGE DURFEE;**  
WITH  
**MRS. WHITMAN'S POEM.**

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JANUARY 13, 1847.



THE HISTORY

OF THE UNITED STATES

AND THE

WEST INDIES

BY



# DISCOURSE.

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GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:—

In consequence of my compliance with the request of your committee—a compliance, perhaps, unfortunate both for you and me—it has become my duty to address you, and our fellow citizens generally, upon a purely Rhode-Island theme. I shall, accordingly, speak to you of that Idea of Government, which was actualized, for the first time in Christendom, here in this State, by those who described themselves as “a poor colony, consisting mostly of a birth and breeding of the Most High, formerly from the mother nation in the bishops’ days, and latterly from the New-England over-zealous colonies.” I shall speak to you of the origin of this idea—of the various forms which it took, in its progress toward its realization here, in minds of much diversity of character and creed; and of that “lively experiment,” which it subsequently held forth, that “a most flourishing civil state may stand, and be best maintained, with a full liberty in religious concerns”—a liberty which implied an emancipation of Reason from the thraldom of arbitrary authority, and the full freedom of inquiry in all matters of speculative faith.

To the founders of this State, and particularly to Roger Williams, belong the fame and the glory of having realized, for the first time, this grand idea, in a form of civil government; but we should honor them at the expense of our common nature, should we say that they were the first to maintain that Christ’s kingdom was not of this world, and that the State had no right to interfere between conscience and God. The idea must, undoubtedly, have had its historical origin in him who first endured persecution for conscience’s sake. “Saul! Saul! why persecutest thou me?” is a voice, implying a denial of right, which comes with a sudden shining round about of light, not only from

# THE CHURCH

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(TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR)

THE CHURCH is a body of men, who are united by a common faith, and who are bound together by a common law. It is a body which is subject to the will of God, and which is subject to the will of its head, Jesus Christ. It is a body which is subject to the will of its members, and which is subject to the will of its officers. It is a body which is subject to the will of its laws, and which is subject to the will of its customs. It is a body which is subject to the will of its traditions, and which is subject to the will of its practices. It is a body which is subject to the will of its doctrines, and which is subject to the will of its teachings. It is a body which is subject to the will of its sacraments, and which is subject to the will of its rites. It is a body which is subject to the will of its discipline, and which is subject to the will of its order. It is a body which is subject to the will of its unity, and which is subject to the will of its communion. It is a body which is subject to the will of its peace, and which is subject to the will of its love. It is a body which is subject to the will of its justice, and which is subject to the will of its mercy. It is a body which is subject to the will of its truth, and which is subject to the will of its life. It is a body which is subject to the will of its hope, and which is subject to the will of its faith. It is a body which is subject to the will of its charity, and which is subject to the will of its grace. It is a body which is subject to the will of its glory, and which is subject to the will of its kingdom. It is a body which is subject to the will of its power, and which is subject to the will of its majesty. It is a body which is subject to the will of its wisdom, and which is subject to the will of its knowledge. It is a body which is subject to the will of its strength, and which is subject to the will of its courage. It is a body which is subject to the will of its endurance, and which is subject to the will of its patience. It is a body which is subject to the will of its gentleness, and which is subject to the will of its kindness. It is a body which is subject to the will of its goodness, and which is subject to the will of its beauty. It is a body which is subject to the will of its holiness, and which is subject to the will of its purity. It is a body which is subject to the will of its righteousness, and which is subject to the will of its justice. It is a body which is subject to the will of its peace, and which is subject to the will of its love. It is a body which is subject to the will of its unity, and which is subject to the will of its communion. It is a body which is subject to the will of its discipline, and which is subject to the will of its order. It is a body which is subject to the will of its sacraments, and which is subject to the will of its rites. It is a body which is subject to the will of its doctrines, and which is subject to the will of its teachings. It is a body which is subject to the will of its traditions, and which is subject to the will of its practices. It is a body which is subject to the will of its laws, and which is subject to the will of its customs. It is a body which is subject to the will of its officers, and which is subject to the will of its members. It is a body which is subject to the will of its head, Jesus Christ, and which is subject to the will of God.

Heaven, but has come, and shall ever come, from the depths of persecuted humanity, through all time ; and, in proportion to the violence and spread of the persecution, has been, and shall be, the depth and extent of the cry. It is the protest of that all-present Reason, which is, at once, the master of the individual and the race, against the abuse made by the creature, of its own delegated authority. And that time never was, and never shall be, when humanity could, or can, recognize the right of any human power to punish for the expression of a mere conscientious belief.

By what fraudulent craft or cunning, then, was it, that this power to punish in matters of conscience came to be established throughout all Christendom, and has been continued down, in some Countries, to the present day ?—and how happened it that the odious office of punishing heretics, and enforcing uniformity of opinion, fell, both in Roman Catholic and Protestant Countries, on the civil magistrates ? This question is fully answered by History.

When men had been brought to believe that they had found a divine and infallible teacher in the Bishop of Rome, it was not difficult to induce them to think that whatever opinion they might entertain, which he thought proper to condemn as heretical, was, in truth, a sin, which they were bound to renounce, on the peril of their salvation ; and that then, on having renounced it, upon undergoing a voluntary penance, directed by some ecclesiastical authority, they might be assured of an absolution, and full restoration to the bosom of the church. Thus far it was believed that the spiritual power might proceed. But then, there were frequently those who were much more confident in the truth of their opinions, than in the infallibility of the Pope, or their priestly advisers ; and such persons, on their opinions being adjudged heretical, were, after all suitable admonition, condemned as incorrigible heretics, and excommunicated.

Yet this was not an extirpation of the heresy ; and the Roman Church held that she had a divine right to extirpate heresy ; and yet she also adopted the maxim, *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*—the Church abhors blood. The holy Church then could not take the *life* of the heretic ; and, therefore, she contrived to shift off this odious office upon the secular authority, by imposing an oath upon the princes of Europe, generally, to sustain the Catholic faith, and to extirpate heresy out of the land. It was thus that it fell to the lot of the kings of Europe, and their subordinates, to become the executioners of the Church of Rome. And when the Reformation was established over





a part of Europe, national churches took the place of the Roman Church, and laws were passed to enforce uniformity; and thus, even in Protestant Countries, the ungrateful task of punishing non-conformity and heresy fell on the civil magistrate.

It was by such craft that the power to punish for matters of conscience came to be established, both in Roman Catholic and Protestant Countries, and that in both, the odious office of inflicting the punishment fell on the secular authorities.

But long before the Reformation — long before the time of Luther — there were great numbers in Europe, who had, themselves, acquired some knowledge of the Scriptures, and had, consequently, adopted opinions quite inconsistent with the doctrines and traditions of the Church of Rome; and they proved to be opinions in which they had abundantly more confidence than in the infallibility of the Pope. Now, when these people came to be condemned as heretics, and consigned to the secular authorities, to undergo the sentence and punishment of death, can any one suppose that the appearance of the civil magistrate deceived them into the belief that they had indeed committed a crime? Can any one doubt that they questioned *his* right — as they had questioned the infallibility of the Pope — to come in, with the sentence of death, between their consciences and their God, for a matter of faith in which their eternal hopes were grounded? Indeed, their deaths were the strongest possible protest against the legitimacy of the power; since no one can be supposed to adhere to an opinion, as right, for which the magistrate may rightfully put him to death. The denial of the right of the civil power to interfere in matters of conscience, must, therefore, be coeval with the assumption of the authority.

But men sometimes act on a truth which they feel, though they do not clearly express it in words; and what says History on this point, in reference to such an assumption of authority? I think that we may trace the denial of this right, more or less distinctly, in the doctrines of the Waldenses or Albigenses. These were names designating persons of a great variety of opinions, on minor points, and by which dissenters from the Roman Church were generally distinguished, long before the appearance of Luther. The doctrines of these dissenters, when first noticed, strongly resembled those of the primitive Christians. I cannot enumerate them; but, like the first settlers of this State, they seem to have regarded “Christ as king in his own kingdom;” and, by separating the church from the world, and by

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repudiating the Roman Church *on account* of its assumption of secular authority, they manifestly denied the right of the civil magistrate to interfere in the concerns of conscience. These people were early found in the valleys of Piedmont, and, at a later period, in the south of France. A crusade was, however, instituted against them by Innocent III., and they were driven from their homes with conflagration and slaughter, into almost every European kingdom. Rome, thus undesignedly, scattered the seeds of the Reformation broadcast over Europe; and with them, those principles and doctrines which expressly separated the Church from the secular power.

The doctrines of the Waldenses had been widely diffused at the dawn of the Reformation, and when Luther appeared, the number of dissenters from the Roman Church, who had adopted these, or doctrines similar to these, were great in every Country in Europe; but particularly in Germany. Europe was, in fact, now ripe for an insurrection in favor of soul-liberty against soul-oppression, in every form, and, particularly, against that despotism which the Church asserted, and which it maintained in the last resort, by the agency of the secular power, over the reason and the consciences of its subjects. And, indeed, the Reformation was nothing less than an effort made by this Reason for its own emancipation.

But to break down its prison walls was not to build its own house — to emancipate itself was not to secure and establish its own freedom; and, therefore, in the very effort which it made for its emancipation, it necessarily kept this end in view — namely, the ultimate establishment of its own proper asylum, its own free home — so fortified, as to secure it against every attempt to enslave it. Let me endeavor to give this idea a more philosophical expression. This Reason exists in humanity, only in and through the individual mind. Now, nothing could secure and establish its freedom, but *the realization of the individual mind itself—free as its Creator had made it—in a congenial, social mind, standing out, fully developed and expressed, in correspondently free political institutions.* This was the idea — this was the then deeply involved conception, to which the general mind of Protestant Europe gravitated, unconsciously, but of its own law, as to a common centre. I say unconsciously; but it had its vague and indeterminate aspirations and hopes. It ever had its object dimly and indistinctly before it, though receding at every approach. It was this idea which, for generations, shook Europe to its centre — it was this idea which, when the spiritual domination of Rome was





overthrown, and Protestant Europe stood forth in renovated institutions, still haunted the minds of our English ancestry, as a great conception, which had not been, but might yet be, realized—it was this idea which brought them “from the mother nation in the bishops’ days,” and finally, “from the New England over-zealous colonies,” here, to the forest-shaded banks of the Mooshausic, where they, at last, fully realized it, in the social order and government of a State.

It may be not inappropriate to trace this idea, through the several stages of its progress, to its realization here. It will, at least, give us confidence in that which may follow, and will, I flatter myself, shew that we are not dealing with a phantom of the imagination, but with a sober historical reality.

When the several Protestant governments of Europe had thrown off the spiritual dominion of the Pope, great was the expectation of their subjects, that the individual mind would be no longer held in spiritual bondage. This expectation, however, was destined to a considerable disappointment. These governments had indeed thrown off the dominion of the Pope, but they substituted, in the place of it, a dominion of their own. Each established its own national church, Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Episcopal. The king, or head of the nation, became the head of the established order; and laws were enacted, or ordinances promulgated, to enforce uniformity, and punish heretics. It is evident, however, that here had been a progress toward the realization of the idea which had caused the Reformation. In Continental Europe, the Lutheran and the Calvinist, under their respective church and state governments, were in the full enjoyment of that soul-liberty which would have been denied to them by the Pope. Each of their minds found its place in a congenial social mind—their idea of soul-liberty was realized. But how was it with those who could not conform to the Established Church? They were obnoxious to the laws—they were disfranchised, or punished for non-conformity, or heresy. That soul-liberty, for which they had struggled and suffered so much, during the trials of the Reformation, had not been realized; and they were, in respect to conscience, out of legal protection, and objects of persecution. And this was particularly the case in England—the father-land of our ancestors. The Reformation had there been commenced, not by the people—not by a Luther and his associates—but by the government itself, and for the interest and the purposes of the government.



It was commenced in the reign of Henry VIII; and, after a sanguinary struggle during the reign of Philip and Mary, was at length recognized as fully established, in the reign of Elizabeth.

This event terminated, forever, the spiritual dominion of the Pope in England, and established Episcopacy as an integral part of the monarchy, with the sovereign at its head. Here, too, was a progress toward the realization of the great idea, but it was a progress made only for the benefit of the Episcopalian; and, indeed, for his benefit, only whilst he continued to adhere to that particular faith. The moment that reason or conscience carried him beyond the prescribed limits, he fell under the ban of Church and State, as a non-conformist or heretic. Nor did he find himself alone. Many there were, who, from the first establishment of the Church of England, thought that the Reformation had not been carried to a sufficient extent; and that the soul-liberty, for which they had endured so much, had not been realized. They were comprehended under the general name of Non-conformists, and consisted of those called Brownists, Puritans, Congregationalists, Independents, and so forth. Neither of these denominations felt that their idea of religious liberty had been realized in an Episcopal Church and State. On the contrary, they felt that how much soever of liberty there might be for the Episcopalian, there was but little for them. A part of those called Puritans, formed themselves into associations, or churches, crossed the Atlantic, and established themselves at Plymouth, Salem, and Boston, and became the first settlers of New-England.

They sought these shores, to establish here, far from English bishops and their tyranny over reason and conscience, religious liberty for themselves and their posterity. This, at first, certainly seems to promise the final accomplishment of the great object of the Reformation—even the entire emancipation of the individual mind from spiritual thralldom, and the establishment of its freedom in the bosom of a congenial community. But, in fact, it proved to be only another step toward that end. What they meant by religious freedom, was not the freedom of the individual mind from the domination of the spiritual order, but merely the freedom of their particular church; and just as the English government had thrown off the tyranny of the Pope, to establish the tyranny of the bishops, they threw off the tyranny of the bishops, to establish the tyranny of the brethren. But still, a small community, under the rule of brethren, is nearer to an individual, than a nation, under a monarch; and the establish-





ment, here, of these churches or religious associations, even under their ecclesiastical and civil forms, proved to be a great approximation toward the realization of the full freedom of the individual mind in congenial social institutions. True, they established nothing but the liberty of Church and State Corporations, and of their respective members; but it was easier to break from the restraints imposed by a petty community, than from those imposed by the government and people of England; especially when the daring adventurer had the wilderness before him. And the form, which these religious associations took, was particularly exposed to the liability of provoking disaffection, even among themselves.

Their Church and State Governments were essentially the same institution, under different names. The spiritual power was brought down to earth, and into all the relations of private and public life. It appeared in their laws—their judicial proceedings—in the administration of the government, and in all the movements of the State. Nothing of importance was done without the advice of the minister and ruling elders; and we may well suppose that, under such a form of government, politics and religion were identical. It was designed to make men religious according to law; and there could not be two parties in the State, without there being also two parties in the Church; and to question the authority of either, was to provoke the resentment of both. The brethren were, indeed, free as long as they continued brethren; but Reason was, at that time, moving on to its emancipation, and it could dilate on nothing which did not bring it directly or indirectly into conflict with the Church. It, therefore, soon happened, and particularly in Massachusetts, that numbers of the brethren, of diverse minds in matters of faith, lost their place in the Church—were cast out, and exposed to the penal inflictions of the civil authorities.

Among the earliest, if not the very earliest, of these, was Roger Williams, the Founder of this State. He had sought New England (A. D. 1631,) in the expectation that he might here enjoy that religious liberty which was denied him in the mother country. He was a minister of the gospel. He at first preached in Plymouth, and afterwards became a minister of the church at Salem. He freely expressed his opinion on various subjects. He affirmed that the king's patent could not, of itself, give a just title to the lands of the Indians. He maintained that the civil magistrate had no right to interfere in matters of conscience, and to punish for heresy or apostacy. He



contended that "the people were the origin of all free power in government," but that "they were not invested by Christ Jesus with power to rule in his Church" — that they could give no such power to the magistrate, and that to "introduce the civil sword" into this spiritual kingdom, was "to confound heaven and earth, and lay all upon heaps of confusion." In effect, he called upon the Church to come out from the magistracy, and the magistracy to come out from the Church ; and demanded that each should act within its appropriate sphere, and by its appropriate means. It was then, for the first time, that the startling thought of a complete separation of Church and State, was uttered on these Western shores ; and it was then, also for the first time, that the individual mind, free in the sovereign attributes of Reason, stood forth before the Massachusetts authorities, and boldly claimed its emancipation, in the realization of its own true idea of government.

Such a mind was manifestly too large for the sphere of a Church and State combination. It had already broken from its bondage, and now stood out, independent, individual, and alone. Roger Williams was necessarily banished by the Massachusetts authorities. He was sentenced to depart from their jurisdiction within six weeks. But he went about, "to draw others to his opinion," and he proposed "to erect a plantation about the Narragansett bay." The rumor of this reached the ears of the magistracy ; and, to defeat his intent, which had for them a most alarming significance, they proposed to send him to England, by a ship then lying in the harbor of Boston. He eluded their quest — plunged into the forest wilderness — and, after spending the winter among its savage but hospitable inhabitants, attempted to form a plantation at Seekonk ; but, defeated in this, came, at last, into the valley of the Mooshaucic, and here, with a small number of associates, of like aspirations, realized that idea of government, in its first form, which had so long captivated, but still evaded, the pursuit of nations and men.

We have thus traced this idea of government, from the first indistinct expressions of itself in the doctrines of the Waldenses, through the struggles of that revolution known as the Protestant Reformation ; we have next noticed the imperfect realizations of itself, in the Church and State governments of Europe ; we have then seen it cross the Atlantic, in the form of small religious associations, to be again reproduced, imperfectly, in a combination of ecclesiastical and civil institutions ; but we have now seen it, impersonated in the individual





man, breaking from these restraints, and going forth into the wilderness, there to establish itself in an infant community, as the last result of centuries of effort.

We start, then, with this important fact, well worthy of being forever fixed in every Rhode-Island mind; namely: that it was *here* that the *great idea*, which constituted the very soul of that religious movement which so long agitated all Europe, *first took an organic form* in a civil community, and *expressed itself in a social compact*.

Let us for a moment attend to the words of that compact — let us hearken to this, its first free expression of itself. We ought not to expect it to announce itself in the clear, strong tones of manhood; for it can speak, at first, only through an infant organization — it will only make known its advent into the material world, by lisping its earliest wants; but then, it will lisp them so clearly and distinctly, as to leave nothing to be misunderstood.

“We, whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves, in active and passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, *in an orderly way*, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a town-fellowship, and such as they shall admit unto them, *only in civil things*.”

Here the great idea resolves itself, manifestly, into two elements — Liberty and Law; the one, necessarily implied; the other, clearly and determinately expressed. Liberty, Soul-Liberty, they take from no earthly power, or being. It is the gift of God, in that Reason which is within them, as His law, and which human authority can neither rightfully enlarge nor diminish. In this, its exalted and exalting element, the Reason is left to deal freely, and according to its own method, with the Divine, the Eternal, the Infinite, the Absolute, and all that pertains thereto, without let or hinderance. But in the region beneath, in this *meum* and *tuum* world, the proper sphere of the common-sense understanding of mankind — where man may jostle man, where each may claim to occupy the same space, to possess the same thing, to do the same act — they each joyfully accept law at the hands of their fellows, cautiously requiring that it should be *only in these*, their *civil things*.

We have now this idea, with its two elements, as it first manifested itself in the infant community of Providence; but it was destined to extend thence, and organize itself in several towns. And, indeed,



fully to try its capacity for government, it should take form in a population of a great variety of religious creed, and exhibit itself in a diversity of human elements—elements antagonistical, and, in some respects, even irreconcilable. For if they be perfectly homogeneous, such as Church and State require, they cannot give this idea the slightest developement. Now, in point of fact, what were these elements?

Why, they were made up of men and women, of a diversity of creeds, who, flying from the soul-oppression of the governments of Europe, and the neighboring Colonies, came hither to enjoy soul-liberty. Shortly following the settlement of Providence, the town of Portsmouth and the town of Newport were formed, and the settlement of Warwick was commenced; each with the same object—namely, the enjoyment of soul-liberty, in security from the soul-oppressors of Massachusetts, and other Colonies. In proof of this diversity of faith, we might cite Dr. Mather, if he could be considered trustworthy authority for that purpose. He represents us to be, at this period, “a colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Anti-Sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, and Ranters; everything in the world but Roman Catholics and real Christians; so that if a man,” continues he, “had lost his religion, he might find it at this general muster of opinionists.” Well, the Rhode-Island idea may readily accept all the diversity which the Doctor has given it; for it knows how to organize it, and subject it to order and law. But we must lay the venerable Doctor aside. He lovingly deals too freely with unrealities and monstrosities of all sorts, to be reliable authority in spiritualities of any kind. Of what, then, did this diversity mainly consist?

Why, here were the plain matter-of-fact Baptists, ever the unyielding lovers of religious freedom—ever the repellers of State interference in the concerns of conscience—tracing their genealogy back through the Waldenses, even to the great original Baptist, John. Here, chiefly at Newport, were the familistical Antinomians, so called by their persecutors—the highly-gifted Ann Hutchinson for a season at their head, confiding in the revelations of the indwelling spirit, and a covenant of free grace. Here, too, chiefly at Warwick, was the mystical Gortonist, dimly symbolizing his doctrines in cloudy allegory. Here also was the Fifth Monarchy man, preparing for the Second Advent, and the New Reign on earth. Here, everywhere, was the Quaker—a quiet, demure, peace-loving non-resistant,





in the world of the flesh ; but who, on taking fire in the silence of his meditations, became indomitable in the world of spirit, and gave the unresisting flesh, freely, to bondage and death, in vindication of his faith. And here, also, it is true, were free-thinkers of all sorts ; some who had opinions, and some who had none. Surely, even before other denominations had established themselves within our borders, here were elements of diversity, all-sufficient to try the capacity of the Rhode-Island Idea of Government.

Amid such variety of mind, there was little danger that men would melt down into one homogeneous mass — a result to which a Church and State combination ever tends — and lose their moral and intellectual individualities. Such variety of mind could not fail to be active, and to beget action, and to promote and preserve original distinctiveness of character, in all diversity. And such, we find, was the fact. I will endeavor to delineate the characters of a few of the leading minds of the Colony, at this time, that we may form some faint conception of the originality and diversity of character, which marked those who constituted the undistinguished numbers that they led.

Roger Williams and William Harris were the heads of two distinct political parties in Providence. Two marked and prominent traits of intellect, gave a strong and decisive outline to the character of Williams ; namely — originality of conception in design, and unyielding perseverance in execution. These, every noted fact of his life clearly indicate and prove. He could assert the right of the natives to the soil that contained the bones of their ancestors, and maintain it against the patent of England's sovereign, though he roused the wrath of a whole community against him. He could conceive a new idea of government, and contend for it, against Church and Court, with the penalty of banishment or death before him. He could be "sorely tossed for fourteen weeks, in a bitter cold winter season, not knowing what bed or bread did mean," rather than renounce this new idea. He could seat himself down amid savage nations — study their language, soothe their ferocious dispositions, make them his friends — that he might actualize, in humanity, his yet untried conception. He could write tracts in defence of this peculiar conception, whilst engaged at the hoe and oar, toiling for bread — whilst attending Parliament, in a variety of rooms and places — and sometimes in the field, and in the midst of travel. He could, at the age



of three-score and ten, row thirty miles, in one day, that he might engage in a three days' discussion with George Fox, on some knotty points of divinity. He was, indeed, a man of the most unyielding firmness in support of his opinions; but no one can say that he ever suffered his firmness to degenerate into obstinacy. Whatever his doctrines were, he was sure to practice upon them to the utmost extent; and if further reflection, or that practice, showed that they were erroneous, he cheerfully abandoned them. He was, indeed, a remarkable man, and one of the most original characters of an age distinguished for originality of conception.

Harris was a man of ardent temperament, of strong intellectual powers — bold, energetic, ever active, and ever persevering to the end, in whatever cause he undertook. Nature seems to have supplied the deficiencies of his early education. Without having made the Law a study, he became the advocate of the Pawtuxet purchasers, in their suit against the towns of Providence, Warwick, and others; and of Connecticut, in her claims against Rhode-Island, to the Narragansett country. He was rather fitted for the practical, than the speculative — for the sphere of the senses, than for the sphere of the ideal. He could not, like Williams, contemplate both spheres, at the same time, in their mutual relations; and the consequence was, that the moment he passed into the ideal, he became a radical, and was brought, at once, into violent collision with Williams. Basing his theories, for a time, at least, on conscience, he contended that any person who could, conscientiously, say that he ought not to submit to any human authority, should be exempt from all law. He asserted and defended this position in a book; yet he was by no means a non-resistant himself. When he obtained political power, he wielded it with such effect against his adversaries, that they called him the *Fire-brand*. Like most men of genius, or eccentricity, who lead an active life, he has a touch of romance in his history. He had, several times, in the prosecution of the complicated controversies in which he was engaged, crossed the Atlantic to the Mother Country. Upon the eve of embarking on his last voyage, as if seized with a presentiment of his destiny, he made his will, and had it forthwith proved before the proper authorities. He then left for England; but, on the voyage, he was taken by a Barbary corsair, carried into Algiers, was there sold into bondage, and detained as a slave, for one year. He was then ransomed, and after travel





ling through Spain and France, he reached London, and there died, shortly after his arrival. The mind of Harris was strong; that of Williams, comprehensive.

Samuel Gorton, the chief man of the settlement of Shawomet, (or Warwick,) was a person of the most distinctive originality of character. He was a man of deep, strong feelings—keenly alive to every injury, though inflicted on the humblest of God's creatures. He was a great lover of soul-liberty, and hater of all shams. He was a learned man, self-educated, studious, contemplative; a profound thinker; who, in his spiritual meditations amid ancient Warwick's primeval groves, wandered off into infinite and eternal realities, forgetful of earth and all earthly relations. He did indeed clothe his thoughts, at times, in clouds; but then, it was because they were too large for any other garment. No one, who shall rivet his attention upon them, shall fail to catch some glimpse of giant limb and joint, and have some dim conception of the colossal form that is enshrouded within the mystic envelopement. Yet, in common life, no one was more plain, simple, and unaffected, than Gorton. That he was courteous, affable, and eloquent, his very enemies admit; and even grievously complain of his seducing language. He was a man of courage; and when roused to anger, no hero of the Iliad ever breathed language more impassioned or effective.—Nothing is more probable than that such a man, in the presence of the Massachusetts magistracy, felt his superiority, and moved and spoke, with somewhat more freedom than they deemed suited to their dignity. Far more sinned against than sinning, he bore adversity with heroic fortitude, and, if he did not conquer, he yet finally baffled every effort of his enemies.

William Coddington and John Clarke, two of the leading characters of the island towns, were both men of well-balanced and well educated minds; less remarkable for originality of thought, than for clear understanding, and practical judgments. They constituted a very fortunate equipoise against the eccentricity and enthusiasm of such original geniuses as Williams and Gorton. The former furnished the sails, and the latter the ballast, of the ship. Each was necessary to the other, and both were indispensable to the whole.

Coddington, before he left Boston, was one of the chief men of Massachusetts. He was an assistant, re-chosen several times—treasurer of the Colony, and a principal merchant in Boston. He was grieved at the proceedings of the Court, against Mr. Wheelwright



and others; and came to befriend and assist them, on their removal to Newport. He was a common-sense, sober, staid, worthy man. The political difficulty into which he was brought, is as likely to have sprung from his virtues, as his failings. He had in him a little too much of the future for Massachusetts, and a little too much of the past for Rhode-Island, as she then was. He died Governor of Rhode-Island, and a member of the Friends' Society.

Clarke was a man of more active and effective zeal in the cause of civil and religious liberty, than Coddington; and was highly competent to have charge of its interests in the highest places. He was mainly instrumental in procuring the charter of 1663. Though originally a physician in London, he became Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Newport. He was a man of learning, the author of some tracts touching the persecutions in New-England, and left, in manuscript, a Concordance and Lexicon — "the fruit of several years' labor." To do full justice to Portsmouth and Newport, it should be added, that their first settlers were, generally, men of more property, and better education, than those of Providence. But —

\* \* \* Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* Omnia Jupiter Argos  
 Transtulit.

Such were the leading minds of this State, whilst yet in its rudimental condition, awaiting a transition to a more perfect form. And I might now say something of the impress which these characters, and their like, have, manifestly, left on their posterity; but this would be foreign to my present purpose. I have described them as they exist in the conceptions given by History, that we may have some notion of the diversity and originality of the contemporary moral and intellectual forces which were brought into action by them.

Now let us recollect that all this diversity and distinctive originality of character, were to be found within four little neighborhoods, consisting at first of a few families, and, as late as 1663 — the utmost range of my present view — of not more than three or four thousand souls. Upon minds thus diverse, original, enthusiastic, active, and, in some respects, conflicting — each bent upon the enjoyment of the most perfect soul-liberty, consistent with a well-ordered community — the Rhode-Island idea, subsisting the same in each and all, took form — stood out in a constituted people — lived, breathed, and thought, in an organization of its own.





When you look for the Constitution of this State, in its essential form, go not to compacts subscribed by men; go not to charters granted by kings; go not to Constitutions given by majorities — they are but faint and imperfect expressions of the great reality; but go to this grand idea, coming down from the distant past — struggling through the blood and turmoil of warring nations — passing through the fiery ordeal of Church and State persecution; and here, at last, find it — standing out — realized — incarnated — in its own appropriated and peculiar people.

This idea, thus realized, consisted, as already stated, of two elements,—Liberty and Law — the pure Reason above, and the common-sense understanding beneath. There is no necessary conflict between these two elements; on the contrary, each is necessary to the proper existence of the other. Yet we shall find, as we follow the internal developement of this idea, that these two elements frequently encounter, and sharply contend for victory. The idea being thus given, every new occasion will call for a new application, which will infallibly bring these elements into action. And now let us follow it in some of its manifestations here, in Providence — then a small village on the banks of the Mooshausic.

Would that it were in my power, by a mesmeric wave of the hand, to bring Providence before you, as she then was. You would see the natural Mooshausic, freely rolling beneath his primeval shades, unobstructed by bridge, uninfringed by wharf or made land, still laving his native marge — here expanding in the ample cove — there winding and glimmering round point and headland, and, joyous in his native freedom, passing onward till lost in the bosom of the broad-spreading Narragansett. You would see, beneath the forest of branching oak and beech, interspersed with dark-arching cedars and tapering pines, infant Providence, in a village of scattered log huts. You would see each little hut overlooking its own natural lawn, by the side of fountain or stream, with its first rude enclosure of waving corn; you would see the staunch-limbed draught-horse, grazing the forest-glade; you would hear the tinkling of the cow-bell in the thicket, and the bleating of flocks on the hill. You would see the plain, homespun human inhabitants — not such as tailors and milliners make, but such as God made; real men and women, with the bloom of health on their cheeks, and its elasticity and vigor in every joint and limb. Somewhat of an Arcadian scene this — yet it is not, in reality, precisely what it seems. A new occasion has arisen



in this little community, which requires a new application of their idea of the State.

Oddly enough—or rather, naturally enough—this occasion has arisen out of the most interesting of domestic relations. Joshua Verin, that rude, old-fashioned man, with his Church and State idea still clinging to him, has been putting restraints upon the conscience of his wife. Yes, she is desirous of attending Mr. Williams' meetings, "as often as called for," and hearing his Anabaptistical discourses; and her husband has said, "she *shall not*;" and the consequence is that the whole community is in a buzz—the fundamental idea has been infringed. A town meeting is called on the subject, and a warm debate ensues; for Verin has his friends, as well as his wife. The proposition is, that "Joshua Verin, for breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience, be withheld the liberty of voting, till he declare the contrary." "And there stood up," says Winthrop, "one Arnold, a witty man of their company, and withstood it, telling them that when he consented to that covenant, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands, and so forth; and gave divers solid reasons against it. Then one Greene, he replied, that if they should restrain their wives, all the women in the country would cry out upon them. Arnold answered thus: 'Did you pretend to leave the Massachusetts, because you would not offend *God* to please *men*, and would you now break an ordinance and commandment of God, to please *women*?' " Winthrop, naturally enough, gives the best of the argument to Arnold; but he may not be fairly entitled to it.

It is the earliest record of a struggle in this State, between new-born Liberty and ancient Law. If the facts were, that Mrs. Verin, after faithfully discharging all her duties as a wife and mother, felt herself in conscience bound to attend Mr. Williams' meetings, and her husband restrained her, it was just such a restraint on conscience as was inconsistent with the new idea of government; and the question, on this supposition, was correctly decided. Liberty won the victory; and Joshua Verin, for a breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience, was properly withheld the liberty of voting, till he declared the contrary.

But there was another occasion for the application of the fundamental idea, not more important in principle, but far more serious in its consequences. It arose from an attempt of Liberty to come down





upon earth, and realize herself entire, to the complete overthrow and destruction of all law and order. It was an idea given by pure Reason — an idea subsisting only by relation to the Universal, the Absolute, the Infinite, the Divine — that sought to come down into a special form of humanity, and supplant the plain common-sense understanding of mankind. It was one of those ideas which propose to navigate the ship by plain sailing, over an ocean vexed with winds, and waves, and varying currents, and perilous with islands, and banks, and ledges, and rocks — where nothing but traverse sailing, aided by the chart, will do. It has been the fortune of Rhode-Island, from her infancy to the present hour, to balance herself between Liberty and Law — to wage war, as occasion might require, with this class of ideas, and keep them within their appropriate bounds. And before certain other States — some of them not fairly out of their cradles — undertake to give her lessons of duty in relation to such ideas, let me tell them that they must have something of Rhode-Island's experience, and have, like her, been self-governed for centuries.

William Harris, as already stated, published a book, and sent it to the several towns of the Colony, in which he maintained, that he who could say in his conscience that he could not submit to any human legislation, ought to be exempt from the operation of all human laws. You will perceive that he bases this proposition upon the liberty-element of the fundamental idea — that he would transmute the relation which subsists between the secret conscience and God, and with which no human law should interfere, into the relations between man and man, citizen and State, and thereby dissolve the government, establish the sovereignty of each individual, and terminate all law.

We may well suppose that, on such a proposition being announced — and announced in such a manner — by a man so considerable as Harris, the excitement in this little community was violent. The very existence of the fundamental idea was threatened, and the art with which the popular element was supported by free quotations from Scripture, excited no little alarm. Williams harnessed himself for the contest, and came forth in vindication of his idea. He made the distinction between the absolute liberty of conscience, and the civil government, clear, by a happy illustration. The crew of a ship might consist of all varieties of creed, and each individual worship God in his own way; but when called upon to do their duty in navigat-



ting the ship, they must all obey the commands of the master. Against his orders, given to that end, they must set up no pretence of soul-liberty — no affected conscientious scruples — do their duty they must, each as one of the crew enlisted for the voyage, on peril of suffering the penalties of mutiny. And he accordingly indicted Harris for high treason. The indictment, however, was not prosecuted to effect—it terminated as it should have. Harris gave bonds for his good behavior, and a copy of the charge and accompanying papers were sent to England; thus ended the indictment, but not the consequences of the discussion.

The principles of the government had, indeed, become better understood; the limits of liberty, and the limits of authority, were doubtless more clearly fixed; but the feuds which the agitation generated, did not stop here. Two parties were created by the controversy; and, passing from questions of Liberty, to questions of Law, touching the limits of the town, they used against each other whatever weapons they were able to command, and carried on their hostilities for twelve or thirteen years. The town was disorganized in the strife. Two sets of municipal officers were chosen, and two sets of deputies were sent to the General Assembly; nor were the dissensions composed, until the Legislature, by a special act, appointed Commissioners, whose ultimate determinations appear to have restored the old order of things.

Such were the developements which the new idea of government received, here in this town, in the infancy of the State. The first, bearing on the relations of domestic life, and the second on the relations of citizens to each other and to the State. But we are now to consider it in its applications to municipalities — to distinct corporations; and to show how it developed itself, when it gave law to a number of independent communities and resolved them into unity and organic form.

A free and absolute charter of civil incorporation, for the inhabitants of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, to be known by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay in New-England, was brought by Roger Williams from England, in 1644; but, owing to the claims of Massachusetts, or other obstruction, it did not go into effect until May, 1647. This charter granted the most ample power to the said inhabitants, and such others as should afterwards inhabit within the prescribed limits, to establish such a form of *civil* government as, by





voluntary consent of all or the greater part of them, should be found most suitable in their estates and conditions; and, to that end, to make and ordain such *civil* laws and constitutions, and to inflict such punishments upon transgressors, and for the execution thereof so to place and displace officers of justice, as they or the greater part should by free consent agree unto. I omit the proviso, as of no account here. Under this charter guarantee of the Mother Country, the Rhode-Island idea of government was called upon to organize itself with the most perfect freedom, on the four distinct and independent municipalities — Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick. And in what manner do you suppose it did develop itself on these distinct and independent bodies politic? Why, it developed itself in a manner the most natural, if not the most effective. It organized for itself a general form of government, which, if not precisely, was at least strongly, analogous to the organization of these United States, under their present Constitution. I will give you a brief abstract of their form of government, from the “Annals of Providence” — a magazine of facts, from which I take the liberty to draw copiously.

The whole people, forming the General Assembly, met annually, for the enactment of *general laws*, and for the choice of general officers; as President — an assistant from each town, nominated by the town — General Recorder, &c. A general code of laws, which concerned all men, was first approved by the towns, (as the States adopted the Constitution, and still adopt amendments,) but before it could go into effect, it was ratified by the General Assembly of the whole people. All legislative power was ultimately in the whole people, in General Assembly convened. Towns might propose laws, (as States amendments to the Constitution,) and the approval of a General Court of Commissioners might give them a temporary force; but it was only the action of the General Assembly, (the General Government) which could make them general and permanent for all persons within the Colony. But the towns had their local laws, (as the States have theirs,) which could not be enforced beyond their own limits; and they had their town courts, (as the States have State Courts,) which had exclusive original jurisdiction over all causes, between their own citizens. The President and Assistants composed the general court of trials. They had jurisdiction over all aggravated offences, and in such matters as should be referred to them by the town courts as too weighty for themselves to determine; and also of *all disputes between different towns, and between citizens*



*of different towns and strangers.* "It is apparent," continues the same authority, "that the towns, as such, parted with no more power than they deemed the exigency of the case required. They can scarcely be said to have consented to anything more than a confederation of independent governments. If they intended a complete consolidation of powers, their acts fall far short of it. He who carefully peruses the whole proceedings of the original assembly of towns of this infant Colony, will be struck with the resemblance there is between those towns, after that assembly had closed its labors, and the several States now composing the United States of America, under the Constitution." Yes, it is true, that at this early period, whilst Rhode-Island was yet in her rudiments, this, her Idea of Liberty and Law, took form in an organization that already foreshadowed the Constitution of this Union, and foreshowed its practicability.

But do I say that the framers of the Constitution of the United States found their model here? No; but this I do say, that when the several States of the old confederation, following our lead, had gradually abandoned their Church and State combinations, and adopted the Rhode-Island idea of government, that then, this idea thus given by her, did but repeat itself in its most natural and effective form in the Constitution of the United States, and the organization of the Union. Conceive, if you can, I will not say the practicability, but the possibility, of the Constitution of this Union, without that idea of government, which Rhode-Island was the first to adopt, and, against fearful odds, through long years of trial and tribulation, to maintain. Conceive, if you can, thirteen distinct and diverse Church and State governments taking form under one common Church and State government—and if you cannot, then do not deem that assertion extravagant, which declares that without Rhode-Island's idea of Liberty and Law, this Union would have been impossible. True, others might have adopted it, had there been no Rhode-Island. So others might have given us the theory of gravitation, had there been no Newton. Yet the fame and the glory of the discovery, nevertheless belongs to him. Let Rhode-Island claim her own laurels, and we shall see how many brows will be stripped naked, and how many boastful tongues will be silenced.

But let us follow this idea in its further developments. I can speak only of the most prominent; and am under the necessity of speaking of them with all possible brevity.





The government went on under the charter,—all the towns participating—until 1651, when a commission was granted to Coddington, by the Council of State, to govern the Island with a council chosen by the people, and approved by himself. This is properly called an obstruction—and an obstruction to the free development of Rhode-Island's peculiar idea of government, it certainly was. She loved liberty, and she loved law and legal authority; but here was too much of the latter—it trenched too far on the liberty element. The main-land towns recoiled from it—fell back upon themselves, and, in the midst of intestine broils and dissensions, often fomented by Massachusetts, continued their government under the charter. The Island towns submitted; but submitted with deep murmurs and invincible repugnance. Roger Williams and John Clarke were immediately despatched by the several towns of the Colony, as their agents to England; and they soon procured a revocation of Mr. Coddington's commission; who, without reluctance, laid down the extraordinary authority conferred upon him. After some delay, owing to a misunderstanding between the Island and main-land towns, all returned to the old form of government, which continued until the adoption of the charter of 1663.

In the meantime, Rhode-Island, (“the Providence Plantations,”) notwithstanding all untoward circumstances, continued to prosper, and her inhabitants to multiply. She was the refuge of the persecuted of all denominations, but particularly of those who suffered from the hands of her New England Sisters. She was their shelter—their ark of safety in the storm. Here were no hanging of Quakers, or witches—no scourge—no chain—no dungeon for a difference of opinion. Still it was not, as yet, a place removed from all apprehension, or even from very great annoyance. It, for a season, seemed but as a raft,—formed from the fragments of diverse wrecks, and tied together, for temporary security,—upon the bosom of a raging deep, and which, but for the utmost care and diligence, might, at any moment, be rent in pieces.

But the struggles and trials, through which Rhode-Island passed, with her sister Colonies, did but give additional strength to her own love of Liberty and Law; and some notice of them belongs as truly to the history of her great idea, as the account which we are giving of its most important developements. In these struggles, whether carried on at the Court of the Stuarts, in the camp of Cromwell, or here in these Western wilds, it might be shown that she still baffled her



adversaries, and triumphed alike over their diplomacy abroad, and their menaces and violence at home. I shall confine my remarks to the latter, and name some few prominent facts. They will afford a melancholy interest, but without, I trust, awakening any unkind feelings between the Sisters, as they now are. It will serve to mark the distinctive character of our State, and to confirm her identity. This is an important object to a State of such small territorial extent, and of such a limited and fluctuating population.

Here, then, was Rhode-Island in the midst of the three great Colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut — all bitterly hostile to the heretic — all anxious to rid themselves of her presence, and all regarding her as their natural and legitimate prey. And they, accordingly, fell upon her, like three wolves upon the same lamb; and had not God been her shepherd, they must have torn her in pieces. Plymouth claimed the island of Rhode-Island, Connecticut, the Narragansett country, and Massachusetts, claimed Providence and Warwick. They would not have left the poor heretics a single rod of ground, on which to rest the soles of their feet, or to bury their dead. Connecticut, repeatedly, asserted her claims to the Narragansett country; appointed officers at Wickford and other places; and often resorted to violence for the enforcement of her laws. Plymouth was ever a more quiet and tolerant Colony than either Massachusetts or Connecticut. She, indeed, insisted on her claims to the island of Rhode-Island, with such earnestness, that Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of remarkable intellectual endowments, and the kindest sympathies, apprehensive that she might again fall under the jurisdiction of Church and State, fled, with a number of her friends, to Long Island, where they were massacred by the Indians. Plymouth, however, never resorted to force. Her pretence to Shawomet she transferred, or yielded to Massachusetts, rather than attempt to enforce the claim herself. But Massachusetts rested not herself, and gave Rhode-Island no rest. Her claims to jurisdiction over Providence and Warwick, on various pretences, were unremitted. During the village quarrels in Providence, several of its citizens applied to Massachusetts for protection; and she induced them, by some writing of theirs, to pretend to put themselves and their lands under her jurisdiction; and, on this pretence, she actually assumed to exercise her authority, and to enforce her laws, here, in the town of Providence. Thus there were, here in the same municipality, two distinct codes of laws, brought to operate on the same persons, and property;





and this state of things was effected, according to Winthrop, with the *intent* of bringing Rhode-Island into subjection, either to Massachusetts or Plymouth. You may easily conceive the confusion into which things were thrown, by this atrocious interference in the concerns of this little community. Gorton, who was then at Providence, thought that it had a particular signification for him; and he, and a few of his associates, left Providence, and settled at Shawomet, afterwards called Warwick. There he purchased a tract of land of Meantinomy, the chief warrior sachem of the Narragansetts, and built and planted. But Massachusetts did not allow him to escape so. She assumed the claims of Plymouth, and procured from her an assignment or concession of her pretended jurisdiction over Shawomet. After this, two of Meantinomy's under sachems, of that place, submitted themselves and lands to her jurisdiction; and then, three or four of the English inhabitants, who had made purchases of these sachems, imitating the example of a few at Providence, feigned to put themselves and property under her protection. Thus trebly fortified with pretences, Massachusetts entered the settlement, at Warwick, with an armed force of forty men, accompanied by many of her Indian subjects; seized Gorton, and his friends, and carried them prisoners to Boston. There they were tried for blasphemy, and for "enmity to all civil authority among the people of God;" and were sentenced to imprisonment in irons, during the pleasure of the Court — Gorton himself narrowly escaping sentence of death. This imprisonment was continued through the winter; and they were then discharged, on condition, that, if, after fourteen days, they were found within Massachusetts, Providence, or Shawomet, (the place of their homes,) they should suffer death. These proceedings, far from inducing the people of Rhode-Island to renounce their idea of Liberty and Law, did but strengthen their attachment to it. But the government of the entire Colony was soon called upon to defend its peculiar principles by direct action.

During the year 1656, a number of the people called Quakers (more properly Friends,) arrived in Boston, and began to preach and practice their doctrines. No experience had yet been sufficient to teach Massachusetts or her confederates the folly of interfering between God and conscience; and she began to fine, imprison, banish, whip, and hang the Quakers. But these people could find, and did find, a place of refuge in Rhode-Island; whence they occasionally issued forth, as the Spirit prompted, into the neighboring



Colonies, and startled them with revelations from above. Whereupon the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New-England addressed a letter to the President of this place of refuge — the Plantations here — and urged him to send away such Quakers as were then in the Colony, and to prohibit them from entering it. With this request, our government promptly refused to comply; alleging their principle of soul-liberty as the ground of their refusal. And they went even further — apprehensive that their adversaries might attempt, in England, where this sect was particularly obnoxious, to effect indirectly, what they could not directly accomplish here, they charged John Clarke, their agent at Westminster, to have an eye and ear open to their doings and sayings; and if occasion were, to plead the cause of Rhode-Island in such sort, as that they “might not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men’s consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, were not corrupted and violated.” Indeed, the love of their peculiar idea of government seems to have grown with the trials through which it passed, and strengthened with its growth. And what will prove that this love had become one and identical with the spirit of this people, and their peculiar idea dearer than life itself, are the facts to which I will now call your attention.

The first settlers at Providence and Warwick, were, at the commencement of their settlements, on the most friendly terms with their Indian neighbors. The Wampanoags, once a powerful people, though now considerably reduced, were on one side; and the Narragansetts, who, it is said, could number four or five thousand warriors, were on the other. A formidable array of savage strength this! and indeed, at that time, the Red Man may be said to have held all Rhode-Island’s blood in the palm of his hand, the slightest agitation of which would have consigned it to the dust. Roger Williams, sensible of the perils of his position, early “made a league of friendly neighborhood with all the sachems round about.” But this league with savages was necessarily very precarious. They were all, alike jealous of the Whites; and, if any one provoked a war, it would be, of necessity, an indiscriminate war of extermination — race against race — and Rhode-Island would be the earliest victim. Now the Indians were at war among themselves; and the United Colonies knew how to play off one hostile body against another for their own advantage; and they appear to have done so with little regard, to say the least, to the critical position of the heretic Colony. Indeed,

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 the necessary funds to carry out its  
 policy of non-interference in the  
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it so happens that its particular Indian friends were the particular objects of their unremitting hostility. Meantinomy and the Narragansetts, generally, were (as has been said,) on the most friendly terms with Williams and Gorton, Providence and Warwick. They cherished and fostered those infant settlements, as savages best could; and it was against this chieftain and his people, that the United Colonies chose to excite Uncas and the Mohegans. Frequent strifes and, ultimately war and battle and slaughter were the consequences. Meantinomy was taken prisoner, and Uncas was advised by the United Colonies to put him to death. Acting on this advice, Uncas murdered his prisoner. The whole Narragansett people were, thereupon, deeply agitated — hostilities were frequently threatened; nor did the memory of this atrocious deed die out of the Narragansett mind, ere the Wampanoags rose in arms, and the whole body of Indians raised the tomahawk against the Whites, without discrimination. Now in 1643, previous to the death of Meantinomy, the four New-England Colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, formed a confederation for their better security against Indian hostilities. This confederation was, indeed, a castle of safety to them, but not to Rhode-Island. She was obliged to stand out exposed to every peril. Between the death of Meantinomy, and the outbreak of Philip's war, again and again, did the fearful cloud of Indian hostility darken the land, and again and again, did Rhode-Island apply for admission into this confederation, and was refused. Refused? No; not absolutely. If she would renounce her idea of government, and come in under the Church and State combination, then, indeed, they would take her under their protection; but until she did, she must stand out exposed to all the horrors of Indian war. Rather than accept such conditions, she chose the exposure. She stood out ready to brave the terrors of Indian ferocity — the midnight conflagration, and the indiscriminate butcheries of the tomahawk and scalping knife. Did she not love her Idea? Was it not to her dearer than life? Did she not feel it to be one and identical with herself, and that to renounce it, would be to commit treason against the Most High, and to terminate her own existence?

By this, her unconquerable love of her own glorious principles, she proved herself worthy of the Charter of 1663. Than that Charter, no greater boon was ever conferred by mother Country on Colony, since time began. No grant ever more completely expressed the Idea of a People. It, at once, guarantied our ancestors' soul-liberty, and

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granted a law-making power, limited only by the desire of their Anglo-Saxon minds. It gave them the choice of every officer, from the Commander-in-Chief down to the humblest official. It gave to the State the power of peace and war. It made her a sovereignty under the protection, rather than the guardianship, of England's sovereign ; so that the moment that protection was withdrawn, she stood independent and alone, competent to fight her own battles, under her own shield. I shall say nothing more of the powers conferred by this Charter ; we have too recently put off, and hung on the castle walls, that Vulcanian panoply, still unscathed, glorious and brilliant with nearly two centuries' wear. We know what it was ; God bless its memory !

There are those who are weak enough to think that they degrade the State, by calling this Charter the grant of a profligate king. The fools ! As well might they think to degrade a man, by declaring that the garment which he wears was made by a profligate tailor. But those who are endowed with this high wisdom, have yet to learn something of the manner in which Divine Providence operates its results in the great humanity, and that even this Charter is not the work of mere man. They have yet to learn, that there exists, throughout the grand totality, one presiding and all-pervading Mind, which, ever as occasion requires, brings out one element of humanity in opposition to another — balances excess against excess, and makes the best and the worst, the highest and the lowest, of mortals, equally, the unconscious instruments of its great designs ; and thus moves man steadily onward, to a higher and higher sphere of duties and rights. Whence comes the tyrant's will, unless it be from himself ? But whence come the instinct of self-preservation, and deathless hope and faith, and that feeling, which knows no master, for the heroic sufferer in virtue's cause ? They are all from the Divine Author of humanity ; and dwell alike in the beggar and the king.

When Charles the Second heard the tale of Rhode-Island's woes — of the wrongs inflicted upon her by her giant Sisters — when he heard of the scantiness of her territory, of the smallness of her numbers — of the perils to which they had been exposed, and of those which they must still encounter, in these distant wilds, could he have been accounted subject to the common laws of humanity, had he refused her feebleness a single demand ? Was not this Divine Power his master ? — and did he not grant the Charter because he could not do otherwise than obey it ? Yes — save as an instrument,





neither Charles, nor Clarendon, nor Howard, nor other noble, gave that Charter. On the contrary, that very law of humanity which gave Rhode-Island's idea of government ere Rhode-Island was a name, and after passing it from generation to generation, gave it first to take form here in an infant people — that very law now clad it in the panoply of the Charter, and bade it suddenly stand out in the midst of New-England's Colonies, like another Minerva flashed from the head of Jove.

Well might the surrounding Colonies recoil from the splendid vision, and still look on in wonderment at its strange apparition. But be ye not too fearfully astonished, ye simple ones! There is no witchcraft here. It is but an ordinary prodigy of that "Wonder-working Providence" of which ye have spoken so much, and know so little. John Clarke, our agent at Westminster, has not been dealing with the wicked one — he has simply performed his duty as a part of the organization of the great humanity, and that, operating under the laws of its Divine Author, has accomplished this grand result.

Here, then, was Rhode-Island in the midst of them — after all, something more than the peer of her Sisters. Her form has still the contour and softness of youth, and something more than a century of growth and discipline must roll away, ere the heart of the young sovereignty shall beat high in the maturity of its vigor, and her bone become hardened, and her muscles strung, to execute the purposes of her unconquerable will — and then — she shall march! — Yes, she shall MARCH! — and her banner shall stream daringly over Ocean's wave, and be rent in shreds on many a battle-field.

But there is some one who thinks, or says to himself: "This is extravagant language for Rhode-Island — a *little* State." My indulgent hearer, whoever you may be, do you know what that word *little* means, when thus applied to a social power — to an integral part of the grand social and moral organization of the race? Do you think that the greatness of a State is to be measured by the league or the mile? or that it is to be determined even by the figures of the census? Are you really in the habit of estimating moral and intellectual greatness by the ton and the cord? Do you weigh ideas in a balance, or measure thoughts by the bushel? If you do, and your method be the true one, you must be decidedly right, and Rhode-Island is "a *little* State." But if the intellectual and moral be above the material and physical, and if that State be great, which actualizes



a great central truth or idea — one congenial to the whole nature of man — one that must develope itself in a manner consistent with the order of Divine Providence, the great course of events, and leave everlasting results in humanity — then Rhode-Island is not a *little* State, but one of such vast power as shall leave an ever-enduring impression on mankind. Give but the transcendent Mind — the great Idea, actualized — and whether it appear in an individual of the humblest physical conformation, or in the organization of a State of the smallest territorial extent, and the most limited population, it shall tend to raise all mankind up to its own standard, and to assimilate men and nations to itself. The principle of the hydrostatic balance has its reality in the mass of humanity, as well as in Ocean's flood; and give but the great fundamental Idea, brought out and embodied in the ever-enduring form of a State, and it shall act through that form, from generation to generation, on the elements beneath it, until it raise the enormous mass up to its own exalted level.

This, all history proves. The States which have produced the greatest effect on mankind, are not those which are of the greatest material dimensions; but, on the contrary, they are States which, though of small territorial extent, and often of very limited population, have actualized great fundamental truths or ideas. Take Athens, for example; with a ruling population of about twenty thousand, and with a territorial domain of about the extent of our own State, what a dominion did she hold, and holds she still, over the rising and risen civilizations of the earth! Barbarism took light from her lamp; infant Rome organized herself upon the basis of her laws; and surrounding nations were educated at her schools. Her ruling idea was given by the æsthetic element of the mind — strong in the love of the beautiful — and she carried this grand idea into all her social institutions — her religion, her philosophy, her science, her art, and into the athletic discipline of her youth. It reflected itself from the physiognomy and physical conformation of her people; from the statuary of her temples, and from her unnumbered monumental structures. She established an empire of her own, which shall out-last the pyramids — which shall be as enduring and as broad as human civilization. She still teaches by her example, and rules in the truth of her precepts.

Take ancient Judea — a State of small domain, and an outcast among the civilizations of old. The fundamental idea, or great truth,





upon which her government was based, and which she carried into all her institutions and sacred literature, was the Idea of the Unity of the Divine. What an influence has this single idea, as derived from her, had upon all mankind! You may trace its influence, through history, from her fall to the present day. It has brought down with it, to all Christian, to all Mahometan nations, a knowledge of her institutions, and the influence of her laws; and, regarding Christianity merely in a secular point of view, as necessarily springing from her in the order of Divine Providence, what a power does she now exert throughout all Christendom! We can put our eye on nothing to which she has not given modification and form. She lives in our laws and institutions — the very current of thought now passing through our minds, and every hallowed sentiment by which we are now moved, may be traced back to the fundamental truth on which her legislator based that *little State*.

To say nothing of Tyre, or Carthage, let us take Rome — a single municipality, that was called, by the state of the world, to propagate her own Idea of Order and Law, among the barbarous nations of the earth. Rome and the Roman Empire date their origin from the organization of the fugitives and outlaws, that were gathered within the narrow compass of the trench struck out by the hands of Romulus. Within this small space, the roots of an empire, such as the world had never before, and has never since, seen, were planted; and thence they shot forth, assimilating to themselves everything that they touched. Rome went forth in her legion, and did but repeat, on the barbarism of the earth, her own great Idea of Order and Law. She everywhere established her distinct municipal order — assimilated diverse rude nations to her own civilization, and thus enstamped an everlasting image of herself on the race.

I might name many other Republics, of very limited territorial extent and population, but which actualized ideas that transcended the ordinary standard of their age, which have performed a noble part in History, and left an abiding impress on mankind — I might name the small Italian Republics of modern times, and particularly Venice — that Venice, who, with no boast of territorial extent, built her domain in the sea — drove down her piles in the Adriatic, and enthroned herself thereon as Ocean's queen. But I will not consume your time; enough has been said to show that we must not estimate the capacity and destiny of States by the extent of their territory, or the figures of their census — these are but contingent results,



which may, or may not, justify claims to the honor and gratitude of mankind. But, on the contrary, would you truly determine the genius and destiny of a State, ascertain what part — what function in the grand organic order of humanity, is hers — what that principle is which has given her being, informed her with its own life, and actualized itself in her social and political organization; and, if that principle gives a contingent and secondary idea — one inferior to the general mind of the age in which it is called to act a part, such a State, however large its territory or population, cannot be great — it will ever be little, and will become less and less, until it die, and pass out of the system. The order of Divine Providence, the course of events, and the progress of the race, are against it. On the other hand, if that principle give a great fundamental idea or truth — one congenial to the immutable laws of the whole social humanity — one germinating from the inmost soul of man, and transcending the general mind of the age in which it is to take form — such a State cannot be little; however small its beginnings, its destiny is to act a high part in the grand course of events, and to become greater and greater in the worlds both of matter and mind, until, in the fulness of time, it has reflected its image entire, into the bosom of every civilized nation on earth.

Such was Rhode-Island's Idea, and such was Rhode-Island's destiny, (yet to be fulfilled,) the moment she took organization under the Charter of 1663.

Brevity requires that I should now pass from the history of the internal action of this idea, in order to take some notice of its external action, and of the exhibition it made of itself, in the grand theatre of the world. For this purpose, I shall inquire what part Rhode-Island acted in the sisterhood, at a memorable period in her and their history; and we can, thereby, the better determine whether there be, or be not, that, in her conduct, which will give us confidence in these large promises and exalted hopes.

We must suppose, then, that from the adoption of her charter, more than a century of growth and discipline has rolled away, and brought us to the verge of the Revolution.

And where is Rhode-Island now? — that young sovereignty, so royally armed in her Charter, that seemed like a goddess suddenly shot down among wondering mortals, from a celestial sphere. Where is she now? There she stands — one of the banded sisterhood — among the foremost, if not the very foremost of the Thirteen. But





on whom does she flash the lightnings of that well-burnished helmet and shield, and level that glittering lance with the aim of her yet more glittering eye? It is on "the Mother Nation"—on Parent England! What cause has she for this hostile attitude, and most unfilial ire? Is not her Eden Isle still the resort of England's gentry? and what favor has been denied to her? Or what decision, on the numerous controversies between her and her sister Colonies, has indicated a single unkind feeling in Mother England's breast? Why, then, does she now band with those Sisters, and raise the hostile lance against England's protecting arm? Ah! she has come on a great mission; not sent by England, but by England's Lord; and she is here, in obedience thereto, to perform her part in a great movement of the progressive humanity. She felt her own Idea of Liberty and Law threatened in the wrongs inflicted on her Sisters; and, oblivious of the past, she stands here, banded with them, in vindication of her Idea. She has, moreover, assimilated them to herself. She has conquered by her example. They have adopted, or are adopting, her own just Idea of Government; and to defend it, has become the common duty of all.

But let us come out of allegory, into plain, matter-of-fact history, that spurns all embellishment. Rhode-Island, according to her high promise, should take a foremost part in this great movement, both in counsel and in action; and now, let us see whether she disappoints our expectations.

Do not understand that I mean to give even a general historical outline of her services and sufferings: I propose merely to name some prominent facts. But in order that these should be duly appreciated, it is necessary to state, that Rhode-Island, at the commencement of our struggle with Great Britain, did not contain a population of more than fifty thousand, of which, probably, one-fifth part was on the islands of the bay and coast; and these were in the occupation of the enemy, for nearly three years of the war;—that the State Treasury was already exhausted, and largely in debt, by reason of the expenses incurred during the French war;—that she was extensively engaged in commerce, to which her beautiful bay and harbors invited her enterprising people, at the same time that they exposed them to the depredations of a naval power. Now, under all these disadvantages, in what was it that Rhode-Island was foremost? Doubtless, each of the Thirteen may claim to be foremost in some things; but I speak only of those first steps, which manifested great daring, or



were followed by great results. In what great movements, then, bearing this impress, was she first? \*

She was the first to direct her officers to disregard the Stamp Act, and to assure them indemnity for doing so.

She was the first to recommend the permanent establishment of a Continental Congress, with a closer union among the Colonies.

She was among the first to adopt the Articles of Confederation, and it may be added, the last to abandon them.

She was the first to brave royalty in arms.

Great Britain was not then here, as at Boston, with her land forces in the field, but with her marine — behind her wooden walls — on the flood; and before the casting of the three hundred and forty-two chests of tea — the East India Company's property — into the harbor of Boston, and before the Battle of Lexington, men of Newport had sunk His Majesty's armed sloop Liberty; and men of Providence — after receiving, and returning *with effect*, the first shots fired in the Revolution — sent up the Gaspee in flames.

She was the first to enact and declare Independence.

In May, preceding the declaration of the Fourth of July by the Continental Congress, the General Assembly of this State repealed the act more effectually to secure allegiance to the King, and exacted an oath of allegiance to the State, and required that all judicial process should be in the name of the State, and no longer in His Majesty's name; whereby Rhode-Island, from that moment, became, and is at this day, the oldest sovereign and independent State in the Western World.

She was the first to establish a naval armament of her own; and here, on the waters of her own Narragansett, was discharged, from it, the first cannon fired in the Revolution, at any part of His Majesty's navy.

She was the first to recommend to Congress the establishment of a Continental Navy. The recommendation was favorably received, and measures were adopted to carry it into effect; and when that navy was constructed, she gave to it its first Commodore, or Commander-in-chief—Esek Hopkins, of North Providence. She furnished three captains and seven lieutenants, they being more than three quarters of the commissioned officers for the four large ships, and, probably, the like proportion of officers for the four smaller craft.

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\* See the Annals of Providence.





Under this command, the first Continental fleet — the germ of our present navy — consisting of eight sail, proceeded to New Providence, surprised that place, took the forts, made prisoners of the Governor and other distinguished persons, and seizing all the cannon and military stores found there, brought them safely into port, as a handsome contribution to the service of the American army. On our alliance with France, this armament gave place to the French navy.

But this was not the only kind of naval warfare adopted. The harbors of our State swarmed with armed vessels. Our merchants constructed privateers, or armed ships already on hand, and our sailors manned them, and in spite of the utmost vigilance of the British cruisers, they escaped to the Ocean, and were wonderfully successful. British property, to an immense amount, was brought into port, by which the wants of the people and army were supplied ; thus producing a double effect — invigorating their Country, and enervating her foe. A questionable mode of warfare this, it may be said ; and so it may be said, that every mode of warfare is equally questionable. Nothing but the direst necessity can, in any case, excuse war ; but our ancestors seem to have thought that, when once the war was commenced, the shortest way, to conquer peace, and secure their independence, was the best ; and believing that the sensorium of the enemy might be found in his purse, they struck at that, and not without tremendous effect. At any rate, in this business, it must be conceded, that Rhode-Island was foremost. In fact, this port, here at the head of the bay, so swarmed with this terrible species of insect war-craft, that the enemy called it “ the Hornet’s Nest.” \*

But whilst she was thus engaged in carrying war over the Ocean, she was not behind her Sisters in carrying it over the land. She raised two regiments at the commencement of the war — twelve hundred regular troops — she furnished her quota to the Continental Line, throughout the war. In addition to these, from the sixteenth of December, ’76, to the sixteenth of March, ’80, she kept three State regiments on foot, enlisted for the State or Continental service, as occasion might require. They were received as a part of the Continental establishment, and one of them, at least, was in the Continental service under Washington.

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\* For this fact, I am indebted to the venerable Wm. Wilkinson.



To characterize the Rhode-Island officers who served in that war, it will suffice to name a few of them.

There was General Greene, second only to Washington; perhaps his equal in the field. There were Hitchcock, and Varnum, distinguished members of the bar, who did honor to the profession of arms. Hitchcock commanded a brigade, consisting of five regiments—two from Massachusetts, and three from Rhode-Island—at the battles of Trenton and Princeton; and “for his signal gallantry received the special thanks of Washington, in front of the College at Princeton, and which he was requested to present to the brigade he had so ably commanded.”\* Varnum commanded a division of Washington’s army on the Delaware; which included within it, the garrisons of Fort Mifflin, and Fort Mercer or Red-Bank. There were, also, Col. Christopher Greene, Col. Jeremiah Olney, Col. Lippett—I merely give their names—Major Thayer, the true hero of Fort Mifflin; Talbut, that amphibious Major, sometimes on the deep in some small craft, boarding his Majesty’s galley, (the Pigot,)—sometimes on land, driving at once into camp, three or four British soldiers, whom he, alone, had captured—many were his daring adventures and hair-breadth escapes—General Barton, the captor of Prescott, and Capt. Olney, the foremost in storming the first battery taken at Yorktown. Many others might be named; but what a host of recollections rise in the mind, on the bare mention of these!

As to the services of our troops in the Continental line, it is sufficient to say that they were engaged in every great battle fought under Washington during the war; and there are instances in which they sustained the whole shock of the enemy; as at Springfield, and at Red-Bank, where twelve hundred Hessians were repulsed with great slaughter, by the five hundred Rhode-Island men there, under the command of Col. Greene. These, together with the State regiments, were with Sullivan in his expedition against the enemy at Newport, and were, it is believed, the rear guard of the retreating army. The battle on Quaker Hill has never been appropriately noticed in History. “It was the best fought action during the Revolutionary War.”† I use the language of Lafayette. There it was, that this rear guard checked the pursuing forces of Britain.

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\* See the letter of Mr. J. Howland, the venerable President of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, as quoted by Mr. Updike, in his “Memoirs of the Rhode-Island Bar,” p. 12.

† Annals of Providence, p. 256.





and sustained an orderly retreat ; there it was, that our black regiment, with their cocked hats, and black plumes tipped with white, moving with charged bayonets as a single man, twice or thrice rushed on the banded force of British and Hessians, and as often drove them from the ground.\* The estimation in which the Rhode-Island regiments were held, both by the Commander-in-chief, and the Continental Army, may be shown by a short conversation between Washington and Col. Olney. There was some disturbance in the Rhode-Island line, and Washington, riding up to Olney's quarters, said, in a state of excitement not usual for him, " Col. Olney ! what means this continued disturbance among the Rhode-Island troops ? — *they give me more trouble than all the rest of the army.*" " I am sorry for it," said Olney, composedly. " But, General, that is just what the enemy say of them." A smile lit up the face of Washington, and the cloud passed from his brow. The freedom of this reply could have been warranted by nothing, but the known estimation in which the Rhode-Island troops were held, both by Washington, and his army.

For nearly three years, during the time that Rhode-Island was making these efforts, the territory occupied by one-fifth part of her inhabitants, was, as I have said, in possession of the enemy, and one-half of the remaining portion of her people may be said to have slept within range of his naval cannon. The shores were guarded ; artillery companies were stationed in every town bordering on the bay ; the militia were constantly either under arms to repel assaults, or ready at a moment's warning, for that purpose ; and in Sullivan's expedition, they were called out in mass. Such were the trials through which she passed, and such the efforts which she made, that on the return of peace, both State and people were utterly bankrupt. All the property within the State, both real and personal, would not have paid the debts of either. The subsequent laws, making paper money a tender, were, in fact, bankrupt acts. Massachusetts, by not adopting this course, forced the oppressed debtors into a resistance of the execution of her laws, and finally into rebellion and civil war. I say not which was the better course. It was, in fact, a choice between great and unavoidable evils ; but the course of each State was perfectly characteristic. Rhode-Island dissolved the contract, and saved the debtor ; Massachusetts saved the contract,

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\* Tradition.



and ruined the debtor. In Rhode-Island, Mercy triumphed over Justice ; in Massachusetts, Justice triumphed over Mercy.

Such was the conduct of Rhode-Island, that young sovereignty, when called upon to act out of herself, and upon the world around her. And has she fallen, in anything, short of the high promise given by her fundamental Idea ? Have our expectations been in any degree disappointed ? Is she not, thus far, first among the foremost, in the great cause of Liberty and Law. In this struggle, she has acted under the liberty element of her Idea, and it has triumphed over illegal force.

But she is now called to another trial, in which the Law element, by force of circumstances, is destined to predominate. She is called to adopt a new constitution, prepared by the Sisterhood for themselves and her ; and she shrinks from it, as repugnant to her Idea of Government. She had been the first to propose the confederation — she had been among the first to adopt its articles, and she was now to be the last to abandon them. She had ever felt and acted as a sovereignty, even under England ; and every freeman in the State felt her sovereignty and glory to be his own. His own individuality — his own conscious being was identified with her Idea, and he lived, moved, and breathed, as if he were one and identical with her, or she one and identical with him. Under the old confederation, this sovereignty would have been continued, and with it, the same free individuality — the same glorious conceptions of Liberty and Law that had come down from of old. But under the new Constitution — “ through what new scenes and changes must she pass — through what variety of untried being,” under constraint and limitation to which she had hitherto been a stranger — exposed perchance to the annoyance of a new brood of States, or States, at least, that shared not in her sympathies, and which might become hostile for imputed political, if not religious heresies — she paused — she hesitated. — If her Sisters, with something of their Church and State Ideas still clinging to them, and with their royal Governors just cast off — could put on this straight jacket — why let them do it — it might be natural enough for them — but she would hold to the old Confederation whilst she could — she could use her arms and her hands, under that ; but under this, they would be tied down ; and she must pass her helmet and shield and lance into other hands, and trust them for the defence of her own glorious Idea — she determined to cling to the confederation — and who can blame her ? I do not





—and she did cling to it, until she stood alone, and was obliged to abandon it.

If Rhode-Island lost something of the freedom of her sovereignty, by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, it must be admitted that she gained much, by the new position into which she was brought with her Sister States. She, in fact, acquired a new stand-point, and vantage ground, from which the influence of her Idea of Government, and, of her enterprising and inventive genius has been transmitted, and is continually passing, into every portion of the Union. The Constitution of the United States, itself, had adopted her own original Idea — indeed, without it, as I have said, it could not have been established ; and whatever remnant there was of old Church and State Ideas, has, under its influence, long since passed away. In the Constitution and Government of the Union, her own conceptions of Liberty and Law, have been conspicuously exemplified to the nations of the earth ; and have produced, and are still producing, on them their legitimate and necessary effects.

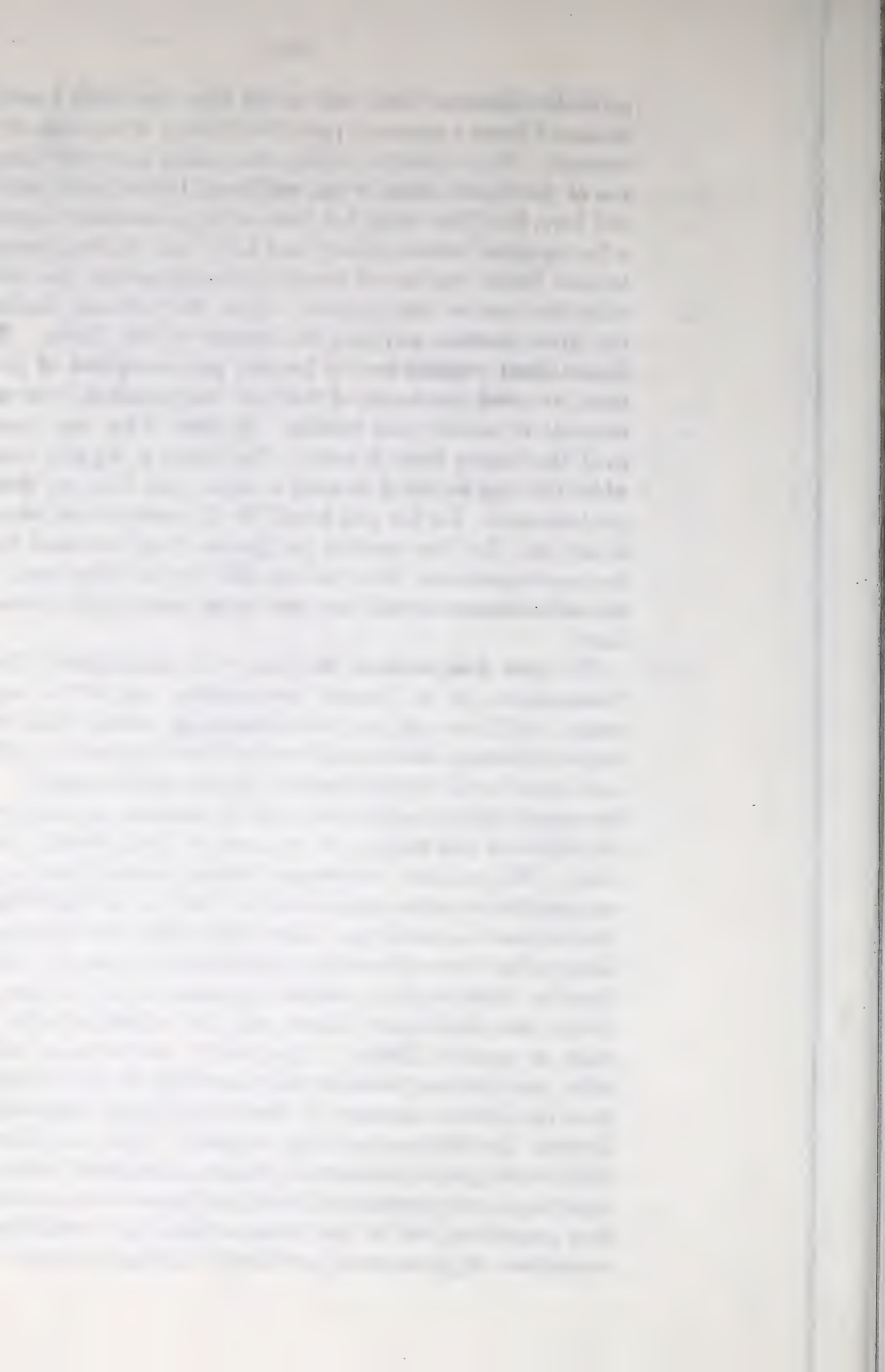
From this new vantage ground, she has made her enterprising and original genius more sensibly felt by all. Having cast aside her shield and her lance, Minerva-like, she turned to the spindle and the loom. Without abandoning Agriculture or Commerce, she gave her attention to the Manufacturing Arts. The first cotton, spun by water, in the United States, was spun in North Providence. The first calico, printed in America, was printed in East Greenwich. It was from these beginnings, that the cotton manufacturing business of this country sprung, and soon came to give a most important direction to the legislation and policy of the Union. It was in 1816, that the manufacturing interest, chiefly of this State, presented to Congress the great question of protection to American industry, in the most effective form. And from that time to the present, it has been a question upon which the policy of the Government has turned, and, in reference to which, administrations have been established and displaced, as this or that party prevailed.

But she has given occasion to a question more important still — a question touching her own original conception of regulated liberty — a question, however, which she settled for herself, by direct legislative enactment, and almost by judicial decision, nearly two centuries ago ; but which now comes back upon her, by reason of the new relations and immature influences into which she is brought. I allude to that question which has grown out of events too recent for a



particular discussion here, and at this time, but which I mention, because it forms a necessary part of the History of her Idea of Government. It is a question, which, when raised under the Constitution of the United States, it was well should be first raised and decided here, in a State which has been so long accustomed to preserve a due equipoise between Liberty and Law ; and be, then, presented to those States, who are yet vernal in the enjoyment of that Liberty which has been so long her own. Upon their ultimate decision of this great question, may turn the destinies of this Nation. Yet if Rhode-Island continue true to her own just conceptions of government, we need not despair of the final re-organization, even of the elements of anarchy and misrule. By force of her own example, shall she restore them to order. The future is big with fates, in which she may be called to enact a higher part than any that has yet been hers. Let her gird herself for the coming crisis, whatever it may be. Let her recollect her glorious Past, and stand firm in her own transcendent Idea, and she shall, by that simple act, bring the social elements around her, even out of anarchy, into Order and Law.

We have thus reviewed the history of Rhode-Island's Idea of Government — of its internal developement, and of its external action ; and I now ask you, fellow-citizens, all, whether there be not that in its history, which is well worthy of our admiration ; and that in it, which is still big with destinies glorious and honorable ? Shall the records which give this history still lie unknown and neglected in the cabinet of this Society, *for the want of funds* for their publication ? Will you leave one respected citizen to stand alone in generous contribution to this great cause ? — I ask ye, men and women of Rhode-Island ! — for all may share in the noble effort to rescue the history of an honored ancestry from oblivion — I ask ye, will you allow the world longer to remain in ignorance of their names, their virtues, their deeds, their labors, and their sufferings in the great cause of regulated liberty ? Aye, what is tenfold worse, will you suffer your children to imbibe their knowledge of their forefathers, from the libellous accounts of them given by the Hubbards, the Mortons, the Mathers, and their copyists ? Will you allow their minds, in the germ of existence, to become contaminated with such exaggerations, and perversions of truth, and inspired with contempt for their progenitors, and for that State to which their forefathers' just conceptions of government gave birth ? Citizens ! — be ye native





or adopted, I invite ye to come out from all minor associations for the *coercive* development of minor ideas, and adopt the one great idea of your State, which gives centre to them all, and, by hastening it onward to its natural developements, you shall realize your fondest hopes. Let us form ourselves into one great association for the accomplishment of this end. Let the grand plan be, at once, struck out by a legislative enactment, making immediate, and providing for future appropriations; let the present generation begin this work, and let succeeding ones, through all time, go on to fill up and perfect it. Let us begin, and let our posterity proceed, to construct a monumental history that shall, on every hill, and in every vale — consecrated by tradition to some memorable event, or to the memory of the worthy dead — reveal to our own eyes, to the eyes of our children, and to the admiration of the stranger, something of Rhode-Island's glorious Past. Let us forthwith begin, and let posterity go on, to publish a documentary History of the State—a History that needs but to be revealed, and truly known, in order to be honored and respected by every human being capable of appreciating heroic worth. Let a history be provided for your schools, that shall teach childhood to love our institutions, and reverence the memory of its ancestry; and let myth and legend conspire with history, truly to illustrate the character and genius of ages gone by, and make Rhode-Island, all one classic ground. Let a literary and scientific periodical be established, that shall breathe the true Rhode-Island spirit — defend her institutions, her character, the memory of her honored dead, from defamation, be it of the past or present time — and thus invite and concentrate the efforts of Rhode-Island talent and genius, wherever they may be found. Let us encourage and patronise our literary institutions of all kinds, from the common school, to the college — they are all equally necessary to make the Rhode-Island Mind what it must be, before it can fulfil its high destinies. Let this, or other more hopeful plan, be forthwith projected by legislative enactment; and be held up to the public mind, for present and future execution, and we shall realize by anticipation, even in the present age, many of the effects of its final accomplishment. It will fix in the common mind of the State, an idea of its own perpetuity, and incite it to one continuous effort to realize its loftiest hopes. If Rhode-Island cannot live over great space, she can live over much time — past, present, and to come — and it is the peculiar duty of statesmen to keep this idea of her perpetuity constantly in the mind of all.



### LEGISLATORS OF RHODE-ISLAND !

The State which you represent, is not an institution for a day, but one for all time. Generation after generation passes away, but the State endures. The same organic people still remains ; the places of those who pass off are filled by those who come ; and the same sovereignty still lives on and on, without end. Every particle of the human body is said to pass off out of the system, once in seven years ; yet the same organic form still continues here to act its part—to be rewarded for its good, and punished for its evil deeds. It is just so with that body which constitutes the State. The organized people continues ever the same. The individuals which compose it, are its ever-coming and ever-fleeting particles, animated within it for a time, and then passing off to be seen no more : but unlike our own frail structures, it is qualified to endure through all time, and, therefore, in all that is done, this idea of its perpetuity should be ever kept before it. A great object is accomplished, when once a people is fully impressed with this idea ; it almost secures the immortality of which you thus oblige it constantly to think. One great curse of all popular institutions has ever been, a resort to paltry, temporary expedients—to legislation that looks only to the day, or the petty requirements of the present. But once impress a people with the idea of its own perpetuity, and induce it to act thereon, and you change its character—you humanize it—you make it a being “of large discourse, that looks before and after.” Once ingraft this idea upon the minds of the people of this State, and they will live in it—they will love it. They have now a boundless future before them, but “shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon it.” Vague and indefinite hopes they indeed cherish, but they cannot anticipate what is to be realized. Strike out, then, the grand plan for the future—give some distinctness to the object of the State’s high aim—to the elevated stand, in distant ages, to which she aspires—and, even now, they shall live in that future, just as they already live in the past. They will enjoy it by anticipation, and cheerfully urge the State on to that high destiny, which the God of Man and Nature designed should be hers.







# POEM,

BY SARAH HELEN WHITMAN.

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RECITED BEFORE THE RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
ON THE EVENING OF JANUARY 13, 1847;  
PREVIOUS TO THE DELIVERY OF  
JUDGE DUFEE'S DISCOURSE.





BOOK

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY



## P O E M .

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Now, while the echoing cannon's roar  
Rocks our far frontal towers,  
And bugle blast and trumpet's blare  
Float o'er the "Land of Flowers;"  
While our bold eagle spreads his wing  
No more in lofty pride,  
But sorrowing sinks, as if from Heaven  
The ensanguined field to hide;  
Turn we from War's bewildering blaze,  
And Conquest's choral song,  
To the still voice of other days,  
Long heard, — forgotten long.

Listen to his rich words, intoned  
To "songs of lofty cheer,"  
Who, in the "howling wilderness,"  
When only God could hear,  
Breathed not of exile, nor of wrong,  
Through the long winter nights,  
But uttered, in exulting song,  
The soul's unchartered rights.

Who oped the cell where Conscience sat  
Chained to her dungeon stone,  
And bade the nations own her laws,  
And tremble round her throne.

# BOOK

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE  
CITY  
OF  
NEW  
YORK  
FROM  
1624  
TO  
1898  
BY  
JOHN  
B. HOGAN  
AND  
JAMES  
M. SMITH  
WITH  
ILLUSTRATIONS  
BY  
JAMES  
M. SMITH  
NEW YORK  
THE  
CITY  
OF  
NEW  
YORK  
PUBLISHED  
BY  
THE  
CITY  
OF  
NEW  
YORK  
1898



Who sought the Oracles of God  
 Within her veiled shrine,  
 Nor asked the Monarch, nor the Priest,  
 Her sacred laws to sign.

The brave, high heart, that would not yield  
 Its liberty of thought,  
 Far o'er the melancholy main,  
 Through bitter trials brought;  
 But, to a double exile doomed,  
 By Faith's pure guidance led  
 Through the dark labyrinth of life,  
 Held fast her golden thread.

Listen! The music of his dream  
 Perchance may linger still  
 In the old familiar places  
 Beneath the emerald hill.  
 The wave-worn rock (a) still breasts the storm  
 On Seekonk's lonely side,  
 Where the dusk natives hailed the bark  
 That bore their gentle guide.

The Spring that gushed, amid the wild,  
 In music on his ear,  
 Still pours its waters, undefiled,  
 The fainting heart to cheer.  
 But the fair Cove, that slept so calm  
 Beneath o'ershadowing hills,  
 And bore the Pilgrim's evening psalm  
 Far up its flowery rills—

The tide that parted to receive  
 The strangers' light canoe,  
 As if an angel's balmy wing  
 Had swept its waters blue—  
 When, to the healing of its wave,  
 We come in pensive thought,  
 Through all its pleasant borders  
 A dreary change is wrought!



The fire-winged courser's breath has swept  
 Across its cooling tide—

Lo! where he plants his iron heel,  
 How fast the wave has dried! (b)

Unlike the fabled Pegasus,  
 Whose proud hoof, where he trode  
 Earth's flinty bosom, oped a fount  
 Whence living waters flowed.

Or, turn we to the green hill's side;  
 There, with the spring-time showers,  
 The white-thorn, o'er a nameless grave, (c)  
 Rains its pale, silver flowers.

Yet Memory lingers with the Past,  
 Nor vainly seeks to trace  
 His foot-prints on a rock, whence time  
 Nor tempests can efface;

Whereon he planted, fast and deep,  
 The roof-tree of a home  
 Wide as the wings of Love may sweep,  
 Free as her thoughts may roam;  
 Where, through all time, the saints may dwell,  
 And from pure fountains draw  
 That peace which passeth human thought,  
 In Liberty and Law.

When Heavenward, up the silver stair  
 Of silence drawn, we tread  
 The visioned mount that looks beyond  
 The Valley of the Dead,—

Oh, may we gather to our hearts  
 The deeds our fathers wrought,  
 And feed the perfumed lamp of love  
 In the cool air of thought.

While HOPE shall on her ANCHOR lean,  
 May Memory fondly turn,  
 To wreath the amaranth and the palm  
 Around their funeral urn.

THE  
JOURNAL  
OF  
THE  
AMERICAN  
MEDICAL  
ASSOCIATION  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
CHICAGO, ILL.  
1914



## NOTES TO THE POEM.

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(a) Backus gives a tradition, that Roger Williams, and his companions, went over from Seekonk, in a canoe; and were saluted by the Indians, from a rock on the west side of Seekonk River, with the words, "What cheer?" — that they sailed round, till they got to a pleasant spring, on the margin of the Cove, at the head of Providence River, where they landed, and where he lived to old age.

(b) A great part of this beautiful Cove has recently been filled up, to furnish a location for a railroad depot.

(c) No stone designates the grave of Roger Williams.



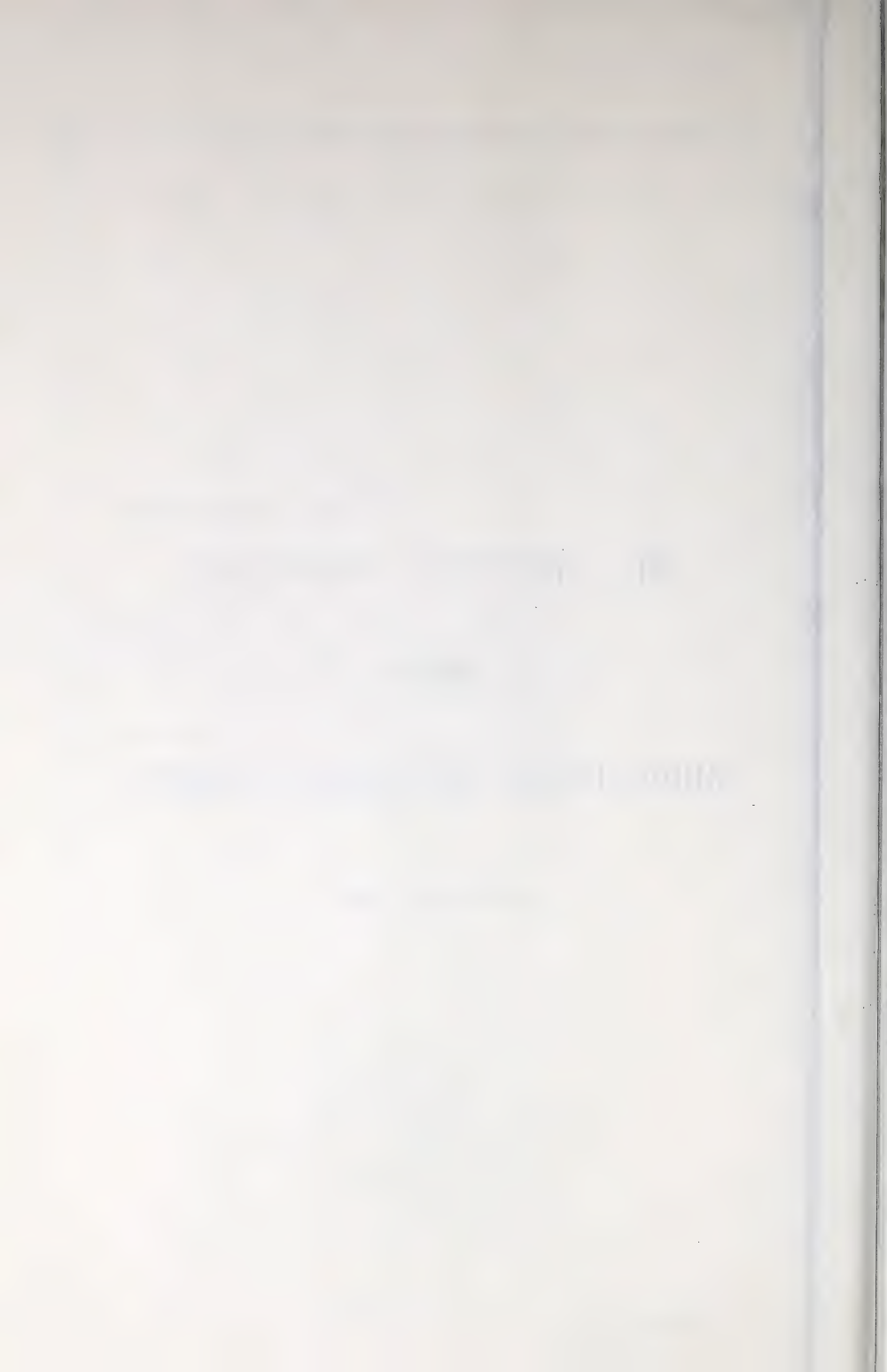
MR. GREENE'S DISCOURSE

BEFORE THE

RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FEBRUARY 1, 1849.







A

# DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ON THE EVENING OF

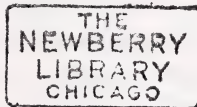
Thursday, February 1, 1849.

BY

GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE,

CABINET KEEPER OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT, HON. MEMB. OF THE N. Y. H. S.

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.



PROVIDENCE:

GLADDING AND PROUD.

1849.

# THEORY

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## DISCOURSE.

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GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY :

It is not without some serious misgivings, that I venture to appear before you this evening. I have been admonished that those who have preceded me in the performance of this honorable duty, had brought mature reflection to their task, and laid before you the results of long and profound investigation. I have felt that a few hours, snatched from the engrossing cares of professional life, would be insufficient for such preparation as the occasion requires; that there was a kind of rashness in approaching a subject of such magnitude, when the utmost that I could hope to do, would be to touch lightly upon two or three of the innumerable questions, which it suggests. But I have also felt that there are occasions on which personal feeling must yield to a higher sense of duty, and that every one, who professes an interest in those studies, which form the object of our association, must hold himself in readiness to contribute his portion, whenever called for, even though it should prove but little else than the widow's mite. I have accepted, therefore, the invitation of your committee, not in the vain hope of rivalling that production so rich in its illustrations, and so profound in its wisdom, with which these anniversaries began; nor that admirable analysis of our Durfee's mind, which, by so singular a fatality, formed the subject of the first discourse to which you were called upon to listen, after his own eloquent lips had been closed forever. I have thought that I should more easily avoid the disadvantages

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of a comparison by hazarding myself upon a more general field, and that a slight sketch of the progress of historical science in its connection with the progress of society, would not be altogether unsuited to the audience and to the occasion.

Wherever men live in a state of union, the memory of the past is preserved, and history, in some form or other, exists among them. It may be but a simple tradition, or a rude collection of inartificial songs; it may be little else than a mound, or a shapeless pile of stones; or it may have advanced a step nearer to the form which it is sooner or later destined to assume, and contain a series of names and events roughly carved in wood or stone. But whatever be its form, the source from which it springs is still the same; that instinctive impulse of the human mind, which, overleaping the narrow bounds of space and time, unites us with the past by gratitude, and with the future by hope.

Hence this feeling, like all those whose source lies deep in human nature, is necessarily modified and expanded by the progressive development of civilization, and becomes, in its manifestations, the faithful expression of the various phases of social life. In its earlier periods little more seems to be aimed at than a simple narrative, not written, but recited, not in prose but in verse, the natural language of an age of fresh feeling and vigorous imagination. But if we look closer, we shall find there the outlines of a picture of the age, with all its passions and its tendencies, all that it has accomplished in industry and in art, its social progress, its political organization, its intellectual development, and all those precious gems of future greatness, which so often lie hidden even from those, who have contributed most to their formation. Hence the historic value of the Homeric poems; a value altogether independent of the question of the unity of their origin and the reality of the incidents on which they are founded. Whether such a man as Homer ever lived or not, may well be deemed uncertain. The ancients disputed about his birth-place, the moderns deny his existence; but both ancients and moderns agree in accepting the poems which bear his name, as accurate pictures of the heroic age of Greece. And whatever conclusion we adopt concerning the events which they pre-



tend to record, they are none the less a true expression of the feeling to which I have attributed the origin of all history, one of simple gratitude for the past and pride in its glory, if those events really occurred ; and if not, that necessity which all men feel, of connecting themselves with the past, of finding some solution there of the more difficult questions of the present, and of that still recurring and still mysterious question of origin ; something which, if not true to the fact, shall at least be true to their conceptions, and give a definite form and positive direction to their speculations.

And when history descends from tradition to monuments, from poetry to prose, she still continues to preserve many of those features, which distinguished her at her origin. There is the same ingenuousness, the same freshness of feeling, the same readiness to wonder and to admire. The descriptions are clear and animated, and each is given with its own peculiar characteristics about it, like studies from the life. The language too, is full of vigor and of truth. The very words have an air of freshness about them. The images seem to spring up of themselves, with a life and a fragrance, which show how rich the soil was, in which they found birth ; and the whole moves on with an unbroken, spontaneous flow, reflecting, like the waters of an unruffled stream, every object by which they pass, and yet so limpid and so pure, that you can almost count the pebbles over which they roll. But with all this in common with poetry, there is a near approach to the appropriate form of history, a clear perception of some of the higher duties of the historian. Tradition and hearsay are given for what they are worth ; well-authenticated facts are related with precision and conviction, like things which the writer had taken pains to examine, before he ventured to accept them. There is an eagerness of curiosity, which leads him to push his inquiries in every direction, and a love of truth, which makes him anxious about their results. There is an evident consciousness too, of the dignity of his office, which however, he still shares with the poet, for history is still the offspring of imagination and feeling, of admiration for the past, rather than of a deep interest in the future. The age of

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thought and generalization has not yet come. Such was Herodotus, whom the ironical skepticism of the last century condemned as a credulous story-teller, but to whom the juster criticism and more extensive observation of our own, have confirmed the glorious title of "Father of history."

The place of the historian is now decided. His pen becomes like the poet's lyre, the awarder of praise and of blame ; of ignominy and of renown. The assembled multitude listen to his voice as once to the songs of their bards, and ratify his decision by their applause. But there is a gravity in those decisions, an earnestness in that view of the past, which distinguish them from those of the poet, and they who consider them attentively, will find there the elements of a still higher progress, hidden as yet amid the foliage, but fast ripening to maturity. To observe and record is the first step ; to scrutinize and compare is its necessary consequence.

Now, then, the historian will come to his task with the earnestness of a man, who knows how great a responsibility he is about to assume. He will look carefully around him before he chooses his subject, and study it in all its bearings before he takes up his pen. He, too, will endeavor to solve for himself some of those painful questions of the past, and go back to those ages, in which the origin of social life lies hidden in mystery and doubt. But he will study them from a new point of view, and subject them to a new standard of criticism. The clouds, amid which heaven and earth seemed to meet, will be dissolved. Heroes and demi-gods will be brought down to the ordinary measure of humanity, and the gods, withdrawing to their divine abodes, leave room for the action of natural causes. The facts, which enter more immediately into his subject, will be carefully examined and scrupulously weighed. Characters will be studied, both as manifestations of individual power and as expressions of their age ; as acting upon others by their own innate force, and as subject in turn to all the influences, that are in action around them. Events will no longer stand apart, like insulated occurrences, independent of each other and unproductive, but follow close upon each other's footsteps, and cling together by that



beautiful law of causes and effects, which he will follow up through its most intricate mazes, and bind around them with philosophical rigor. This law, too, will be his guide in the selection of his incidents, showing him which are worthy of record, and which may be passed over as neither characteristic nor prolific. Carefully tracing each question to its source, he will deduce from each its lesson of moral and political wisdom, and generalize them into laws. His style will be grave, severe and earnest, full of energy and conviction, pregnant with thought, like that of a man wholly absorbed in his subject, and flowing with a full, deep and impetuous current. Such was Thucydides, through whom history first added to her title of "Recorder of the past," the nobler appellation of "Teacher of political wisdom."

Henceforth history becomes an art, a solace for some minds, and for others a field of action, or a compensation for inactivity. Hence the love with which the first cling to the past, dwell upon its records, linger around its monuments, exalt its virtues, magnifying, by their veneration, those deeds, which shine with so imposing a grandeur through the mists of time. And hence, too, the deep feeling, the abundant thought, the depth, the precision, the far-reaching views and the intensity of the second.

But whatever be the historian's immediate motive, and however remote the age which he attempts to illustrate, his writings will always contain the most accurate and faithful picture of his own. Nor is this surprising; for history, even when confined to simple narrative, is made up of judgments; judgments of men, of actions, of events; in all of which the strongest individuality is more or less modified by the spirit of the age. All the historian's inquiries are directed by the same spirit, and are attempts to solve those questions in the social and political condition of former times, which are the chief object of attention in his own. His silence even, often goes further than the most labored paragraph, as when we are told that only a single senator perished in the second sack of Rome, and ask, — what the historians of that age never thought of asking, — but where were the people? The further, therefore, that civilization is advanced, the more important becomes the office of the historian; the





wider the field of general knowledge, the more extensive the range of philosophical inquiry, by so much the more is his sphere enlarged and his responsibilities increased. The curiosity which in one age, rests satisfied with a simple narrative of events, demands, in another, an exposition of their causes and their results; and extending by degrees, from minute details to general views, from statistical data to philosophic generalization, arrives, at last, at the production of a living picture of society, in all its varied forms, and a recognition of the great spirit of humanity, which pervades and gives life to them all.

Who were the auditors of Homer? The young and the old, women and children, for he addressed himself to the feelings of every age, and touched every cord of the human heart. It is but a trifling effort of imagination, to see him, as the great artist has drawn him, in the midst of that varied crowd, with his lyre upon his knee and his head raised upward, while, like Milton's,

"his sightless balls are rolled in vain,  
To find light's piercing ray, and find no dawn;"

and close around him crowd the warrior, with his sword half drawn, and the mother clasping her infant to her bosom, and boys, with their ardent eyes glowing with emulation and hope, and the old man exulting to think that he too has shared in such scenes, and yet half saddened by the reflection, that he can never share in them again.

And the same picture would, with a very few alterations, apply to Herodotus. But what a change from this scene of life and movement and progress, where every word drops like a precious seed, ready to spring up with tenfold increase, to the reader of Gregory of Tours, the monk in his cloister. The warm sunlight streams into his vaulted cell, but can scarcely give a glow to the cold and naked walls. A bed, a table and a chair are its only furniture, and the only sound that breaks in upon its silence, is the murmur of the fountain in the court below, or the footsteps of some brother, resounding in hollow echoes through the long corridor, or, perhaps, the bell, sending out its solemn summons



to prayer. His volume lies beside the crucifix, partly supported by his breviary, and as he reads, he, from time to time, raises his eyes, with a pious ejaculation, or crosses himself in holy horror. And he reads, because he finds there the record of the glories to which he aspires, the sufferings of martyrs, the miracles of saints, the strong man bowing to the weak, the mailed warrior to the mitre and the cowl, the trials and the triumphs of the church.

In an age, therefore, like our own, it was natural to expect that history would receive a new and more perfect development, and be distinguished by the variety and the richness of its forms. Never, since the final catastrophe of the Roman empire, had Europe been shaken by so general and so deep a convulsion, as that, which marked the close of the last century, and has extended its influence so far into our own. Institutions had been subverted, governments overthrown, old classes violently destroyed, and new ones called into existence ; prejudices rooted up, which had been consecrated by time, and principles, which seemed too bold, even for speculation, assumed as the rule of action and the basis of social organization ; wars too, such as the world had never seen before, and battles which unpeopled provinces between the rising and the setting of a sun ; and the violence of party, and the furies of faction, and new forms of tyranny and wilder excesses of freedom ; and miraculous success and unexampled reverses ; and wonderful manifestations of genius, and humiliating proofs of human frailty. More than once, there was a lull in the tempest, when they, who had struggled to the shore, turned back to gaze on the perilous waters, and repeat to themselves and to one another, the story of their trials and their escape. And when all, at length, was over, and the men of a new generation, mingled with the survivors of this stormy period, began to look around them upon the new aspect of society, the first question that arose upon every lip, was, how does this compare with the past ? Is it worth all that has been sacrificed in order to obtain it ?

But the spirit which presided over this inquiry was no longer that which had hitherto guided the historian's pen, poetic feeling,





or learned curiosity, or political speculation ; but a necessity of discovering the truth in all its purity, however painful, or however revolting. Everything was so full of doubt and contradiction ; the same events and the same characters had been painted in such different colors ; there was so much that was unnatural and so much that was obscure, that earnest minds were oppressed by a painful anxiety, a sense of restlessness, springing partly from dread and partly from doubt, and which conviction alone could remove. Thus all the monuments of the past were to be studied anew and from a new point of view. How many questions were to be asked of that mysterious past, which had never been asked of it before ? How many truths of deep import were to be drawn forth from neglected fragments ? By what singular combinations, by what varieties of accidents, by what a beautiful chain of causes and effects, were we to be led back to the origin in a dim and remote antiquity of the phenomena of our own days, and what a flood of light was to be shed around them by the discovery ?

And, first of all, the picture was to be complete, embracing every class and grade, and extending to the minutest details of social organization. Institutions were to be studied, both in themselves and in their relations ; as individual manifestations, and as the characteristics of a peculiar phase of social development ; in their immediate action and in the long series of results, by which they have connected themselves with posterity. All the great questions of the social sciences were to be discussed anew, and in the presence of those monuments to which all parties appealed so confidently. New problems of character were to arise from this discussion, and man to appear in a variety of novel and unexpected lights. A new science too, was to preside over this inquiry, detecting amid these varieties and apparent contradictions, the same great principle of unity, and by a powerful generalization, reducing all the phenomena of social life to their invariable laws. And, above all, that greatest result of history, that purest and noblest spring of human actions, the sublime spirit of humanity was to be made the test of all these researches, and every age, and nation, and individual, as it passed in calm review before the eye of the historian, to be called to



a solemn account for its good and its evil, for all that it had done and all that it had left undone, in the cause of humanity.

The general direction which had thus been given to historical studies, was deeply modified by the various complexions of individual minds. Some sought in history the confirmation of a theory, and consequently viewed every fact through this dangerous medium. Some going back to the original sources, painted events as they found them recorded by those who had shared in them, interweaving with their narrative those general laws which may be deduced from particular incidents, and the most important facts in the progress of institutions and of society. For others, history was not a record merely, but a reproduction of the past, with all the details of public and social life, and all those nice gradations of light and shade which give color and animation to the scene.

But how is this to be attained? By a simple narrative, says one, continuous, unbroken, a faithful reflection of the sources from whence it is drawn, and wearing throughout, the coloring of the age which it records. But your own age too, says another, must find its expression there, or you renounce all the advantages of progressive civilization, and fail in one of the highest duties of your office. The chronicler may record, but the historian must judge. A simple record of effects is but a barren tribute, unless you unite with it an exposition of their causes, and classing each under its appropriate head, ascend through them by the aid of general principles, to those remoter laws, which alone contain the secret of the mystery of our being, and a revelation of the destiny of mankind.

With the first, therefore, of these two classes, it is the individual that forms the proper subject of history. In most histories, the actor is lost in the action, and you are hurried from scene to scene and from change to change, without the means of forming any definite idea of the living instruments by which they are produced. They hover over the page, they flit before you like shadowy forms, possessed indeed of a name, but with no local habitation, nothing by which you can bring them down to the standard of daily life, and look at them face to face as fellow





men. But in the writers of this school, the individual fills up the whole stage, and events interest you only inasmuch as they concern him. Whatever is done, he is constantly there, the cause and the object of all. And he comes before you not as an indistinct, indefinite generalization, but as a living being, with all his human errors and all his personal peculiarities about him. You look upon his brow, thoughtful and grave, or radiant and open; his eyes calm, perhaps, in repose, but kindling with action; the smile that plays around his lips, or the stern decision that contracts them; you listen to his voice; you see him move, his gait, his air, his gesture, and following him into the minutest details of private life, the cut and color of his dress, his sayings at the social board, and his bearing in the domestic circle. Thus the age is reproduced by means of the individual, who becomes its characteristic expression, a spirit called up from among the dead, and appearing in all the reality of its human existence, to tell us what and how the men of his times were. And when you close the volume you feel as if you had known them all, had lived, had acted with them, had shared in their fears, had partaken of their hopes, had felt, thought, and judged as they judged and felt, and thought.

It is the history of the species, and not that of the individual, that you must look for in the writers of the second class. No single form, however majestic, is allowed to fill up the canvass. Particular individuals may still keep their proper places. Great events may still be represented by single names, but that which overshadows and comprises all, is that general conception of humanity of which individuals and even ages are but the transient and ever-varying types. For, however various the aspects under which the individual may appear, the leading characteristics of the race are ever the same, and each, as a whole, is no less clearly distinguished from all others, than one individual from another. It is as a whole, therefore, that it should be studied, if we would form a correct idea of its importance in the great scale of humanity. Taken as such, its unity is perfect. A general harmony pervades it, and blends in one accordant whole, all the various and apparently disconnected parts which enter into its com-



position. It assumes the dramatic aspect of a single life, and ages with all their changes, and society in all its complex relations, may be drawn with the justness of proportion and truth of coloring, which seemed to belong only to the individual. Thus the laws of the moral universe are brought to light, the present is connected more intimately and more directly with the past, and we are reconciled, by the lesson of history, to a thousand things, which, when considered as insulated facts, filled our minds with doubt and dismay.

And if it were not digressing too far, I would pause for a moment to remark the singular accord which prevails between the historical schools of our age, and the schools of art; so true is it that history is ever in harmony with the spirit of the age, contributing by her lessons to the fulness of its development, and preserving all its characteristic features in her forms. For on what is the natural school of Bartolini founded, but the individual? And how clearly does that broader generalization which, in history, has grouped men by races, appear in those wonderful works of Thorwaldsen!

But the march of history, whether represented by the individual, or by the species, is governed by fixed laws, and attended by phenomena, which recur with astonishing regularity in periods separated, and apparently disconnected by long intervals. What then is the nature of these laws? How far are we bound by them? What room do they leave for the voluntary exercise of our faculties? Is man a free though a dependent being, guided by his own judgment, the controller, if not the creator of his own destiny? Or is he the blind instrument of a superior power, borne along by an irresistible impulse, through events which he cannot control, and toward results which he cannot comprehend? Whenever we look upon history from too close a point of view, we see none but individuals; men and events, alike insulated and alike independent; men guided by their own passions, and events produced by the action of these passions. A fearful responsibility seems to weigh upon every member of the human family, attending upon all his movements, following him through all the periods of his existence, and inscribing upon





his tomb a benediction or a curse, each equally the fruit of his own actions. The revolutions of empires are produced by his ambition ; war and conquest are but the consequences of his overbearing pride, or of his insatiable avidity ; each new discovery in science, and every new progress in art seem to spring from individual efforts, and to find their appropriate expression in a proper name ; and all the purest hopes and brightest promises of civilization seem dependent upon the caprices of individual will.

But if we look from a higher point of view, and embrace a more extended range of observation, so as to comprise in one continuous whole, the history of every age and of every nation, we shall discover amidst this apparent insulation, certain general principles, and invariable laws, which increase in intensity the nearer we trace them to their source, till the whole field of history becomes comprised in their dominion, and the individual, with all his ennobling attributes and terrifying responsibilities, disappears from the scene. Time becomes like that mysterious stream, which our own great artist has so beautifully painted, rising up from the dim recesses of a gloomy cavern, and winding its way successively between flowery banks, and through long reaches of verdant woodland, till rushing headlong downwards through rocks and shoals, it loses itself in the shoreless ocean of eternity ; while man, like the fragile bark of the hours, and its human occupant, is borne blindly onward by the irresistible current, smiling, hoping, trembling by turns, and alike deceived, and alike powerless in his hopes and in his fears.

How shall we reconcile these apparent contradictions, and mete out to man and to the laws by which he is governed, their appropriate measure of responsibility in the great events of history ? How shall we escape that benumbing individuality, which pursues us like a spectre, from the cradle to the grave ? Or where shall we find a refuge from the laws of an inexorable destiny ? With every inward glance, we see that we stand alone. Every step in life reveals our dependence on a superior power. In independent action, we feel the sublimity of our moral nature, and are roused to greater efforts, and more elevated conceptions. In the control of external laws, we find a relief from our insula-



tion, and are soothed by the belief in the harmonious concurrence of the past and the present, of man and of nature.

But it is not to the individual alone that this question presents itself. Nations, like individuals, have their responsibilities and their destiny, their youth and their manhood; there is old age for all, and for many decay and death. And like individuals, they perform by far the greater portion of their allotted task unconsciously. The interest of the day is too often a veil between them and the morrow, through which their feeble sight seldom attempts to pierce, and it is only when some earthquake comes to rend it, that they think of what lies beyond. They mark out their course and follow it, and when the child treads in his father's footsteps, they call it wisdom. An experienced pilot may sometimes take the helm, avoid a shoal on one side and a rock on the other, and endeavor to read in the clouds that he sees gathering in the far off horizon, the signs of the tempest or the calm; but still the resistless current sweeps him on, by rock and by shoal, through calm and through tempest, his horizon widening before him as he is hurried onward, and new scenes and new objects presenting themselves in rapid succession, till he is borne at length to some distant shore, of whose existence he had never dreamed.

The most remarkable illustration of this is to be found in ancient history. Never was there a people more confident of its destiny than the Roman, and never one which set itself more earnestly to its task, or followed it up with such untiring perseverance. What it believed that destiny to be, one of their own poets has told us, in some of the noblest verses of his own noble tongue.

"*Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,  
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus;  
Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus  
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent.  
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, inemento;  
Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,  
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*"

And this destiny was accomplished in almost its fullest extent, far more fully than that of any other nation, which fills up so





broad a space in human annals. But when the end came, and like all men's fabrics, this great empire fell, it was seen that this extent of dominion was after all, but a secondary object, a mere condition in the fulfilment of the still higher part, which this people had been chosen to perform. Ancient civilization had reached its highest point, and could go no farther. Art and literature, beauty of form and beauty of expression had been carried so far by the Greeks, that little else had been left for the Romans than to follow these guides closely, even for the expression of their own sterner sentiments. At the side of these beautiful forms, had arisen that wonderful fabric of the Roman law, the silent growth of centuries, which the accumulated experience of subsequent ages has approved, and philosophy confirmed as the language of written reason. These seeds had been scattered far and wide, and taken root wherever they fell. Virgil was as familiar on the banks of the Seine as in the streets of his favorite Parthenope. The Imperial rescript was received with as much veneration in London and Antioch as in the Roman forum. The barriers, which had separated, and so many of which still continue to separate the nations, were broken down, and although those original distinctions of race, which no time can wholly efface, were still preserved, yet all felt that they were bound together by common ties as members of one great Empire. And so surely had these seeds taken root, that when the bond was forcibly torn asunder, and the "ploughshare fiercely driven" over the spot where they had bloomed, till no trace of its former loveliness remained, with the first lull of repose, they silently worked their way upward from their hiding places in the depths of the earth, and sending out their roots into the fresh soil which had been heaped upon them, came forth again to the light of day, with all the freshness and the vigor of a new creation.

And at the same time, that complemental principle of civilization, to which all its other developments are but tributary, without which, the most favored nations soon reach their utmost limits, and with which, the feeblest, though they may suffer much and languish long, can never wholly perish, Christianity was revealed to mankind, when the utter insufficiency of philosophy to meet

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the wants of their moral nature had been demonstrated so clearly, and their union into one great body had prepared the way for diffusing it with such rapidity over so vast an extent. What obstacles would it not have encountered a century before? How much more naturally would it spread from Judea, a Roman province, into sister provinces, than from an independent kingdom into a hostile territory? How much more directly did it address itself to the wants of a people bent under the tyranny of a Roman Emperor, than to the haughty citizens of an ambitious and warlike republic?

And thus the double destiny of Rome was accomplished, the preservation of the precious results of ancient civilization, and the more rapid diffusion of Christianity. Yet how would Cæsar, with all the intensity of his intellectual nature, have smiled, had some newly deciphered page of the sibyl's mysterious volume, told him for whose kingdom he was conquering the Gauls! Or how little would even the vast mind of Tully have comprehended to what results, those beautiful speculations, in which he sought relief from the cares of the Senate house, and the tumult of the Forum, were inevitably leading.

And the reason of this is very evident. They had lived too near the beginning to form any just conception of the end. Rich as the developments of ancient civilization were, they were still confined to a narrow field. Beyond the limits of Greece, all nations, for the Greeks were barbarians, and the haughty Roman acknowledged no civilization but his own and that of Greece. Thus, in his view, the only legitimate existence was that of Rome, and as the other nations were successively absorbed in the Roman Empire, they lost the power of expressing whatever they might have retained of their original individuality, and instead of acting upon the Roman mind by some new manifestation of intellectual energy, adopted the models of their masters, as they had adopted their laws, and strove to think and write like Romans. Rome gained much by the accession, and it was by this successive introduction of new elements, that her existence was prolonged far beyond its natural limits. But civilization was confined by it to one form, and the life of the old world continued





to the last as it had begun, the life of the state. It was for this that the Roman lived, and for this, at any moment, it was his glory and his pride to die. Cicero weeping in exile, though Greece and Asia were open to him, and the love of good men went with him wherever he turned his steps, is perhaps the most perfect type of ancient civilization. His whole life had been devoted to the state; his eyes had been fixed upon that alone, till his great mind had been narrowed down to this horizon, and his limited vision could no longer discern either the individual within it, or humanity beyond.

Ten miles to the south-east of Rome there stands, like a boundary wall, on the edge of the Campagna, a mountain, whose long, sweeping slopes were thrown up by earthquakes and volcanoes, in that remote period, in which the absence even of tradition, is supplied by the divinations of science. Its wooded cone, and parts of its soft outline may be seen from every hill of Rome, and you naturally turn to it as a landmark, in tracing out the ruins of the Campagna. When the traveller has completed his study of details, he often comes here to classify his observations, and clear up his doubts, by a general survey of the whole scene. The first half hour of his ascent leads him through vineyards and olive orchards, with here and there patches of rich meadow land smiling between, and as his eye lingers upon the beauties that surround the path, he hardly thinks of turning to the other objects, which each step is bringing within the compass of his constantly expanding horizon. But soon begin the toil and labor of his way. The pathway grows rugged and steep, in parts awful with precipices and impending cliffs, and in others offering you tantalizing glimpses of some lovely spot, which you cannot recognize, because it stands alone, or opening through the trees, in some vista which stretches far away, to an horizon that never seemed so remote before. At length, a turn in the path, and a few minutes of rapid ascent bring you out upon a green platform, where the whole landscape, with its cities, and rivers, and plain, bursts upon your view, mountains on one side and the sea on the other, Rome herself but a point in the scene, and the blue sky overarching and spanning all. With a single glance, how many doubts dissolve!



How naturally does each object fall into its proper place ! How many things shrink into mere specks ! How many others are brought forward in clear and distinct outlines, till the whole landscape imprints itself a living image upon the memory, with all its peculiar features firmly traced, and all its characteristics clearly defined.

And thus is it with history ; for as well might you attempt to judge a landscape from the depth of a valley, as a nation without the aid of some other history besides its own. The eye may see well enough what is before it, but it can see it only in its absolute proportions, and judge it only by itself. We cannot pretend to know any thing with certainty which we do not know in all its relations, and, as in studying individual character, we are bound to study carefully the circumstances under which it was developed, so in studying the character of a nation, we are bound to take into our account all the influences, both from within and from without, which helped to make it what it was. And this it is which renders what are falsely termed practical views, so dangerous in history, and prevents the man who has confined his studies to a single portion, no matter how important in itself, from understanding its spirit, even when he has mastered its details. There must be a connecting link to unite the development of one nation with that of another, and leading us from present effects to their remote causes, enable us also to look forward with a surer eye into the inevitable future.

And this guide the doctrine of humanity supplies. Nations with this, take their place in time, like the objects in a landscape, when seen from a proper point of view, and races work out their tasks, like the individuals of a single history. There is ample space too, for individual development, for all the softer and more human virtues. There is abundant room for those domestic virtues, which, though they flourish most in the shade, may yet give somewhat of their fragrance to the rougher gales, as well as to the gentler breezes of life ; room too, and ample reward for those sterner virtues, which seek the broad daylight, for the self-denial of science, and the self-devotion of patriotism. For that is a sadly distorted view of humanity, which, making us all citizens of the world, leaves us no home of our own. There are





instincts in man, which speak clearer than the subtlest reasoning, and tell him that those feelings, which are the source of so many of his noblest actions, must have been implanted in his bosom by the same hand which gave him the power to develop them, and must have been implanted there for good. Woe to us, when we distrust these teachings of nature ; the spirit of the Deity, speaking to us with the voice of man, and repeating from age to age the same holy lesson, whether uttered in the joyous accents of hope, from the cradle of growing empire, or in the firm tones of confidence, from its full blown glory, or issuing an awful warning from its ruins !

I have ventured to compare the true point of view for the student of history, to that of the student of Roman topography, the summit of the Alban mount. Will you allow me to return for a moment to my comparison, and recall again the magnificent spectacle which lies spread before him. It is indeed a glorious scene, and one on which the eye lingers with a melancholy pleasure, till past and present become blended, and the mind is almost lost in its thick coming fancies. But amid all this variety of mountain, and river, and plain, this loveliness of reality, and those solemn memorials of the past, there is nothing which stirs the heart of the American with a purer and stronger pulsation, than that watery line, which, gleaming in warm sunlight, on the verge of the horizon, shows him where the streams, which flow downward from the old world, may take their course, and following the star of Empire on its western track, bear their tribute to the distant shores of the new. For we, too, have our share in this destiny of nations. The same law of progressive development, which connects the society of modern, with that of ancient Europe, connects us with both. The same beauties, which charmed the imagination and purified the taste of those elder generations, are acting with unimpaired vigor upon ours. The same fundamental principles of justice, which made their way through so many channels, into all the codes of Europe, are daily gaining new importance in our own ; and many of those great truths, which have been adopted as the basis of our institutions, were worked out in sorrow and in blood by our European fathers. Instead, therefore, of claiming



as our own, this talent, which has been confided to us, let us rather seek to compare it as it now is, with what it was, that by seeing how much we have already added to it, we may learn how much more we still can hope to add. This is the true science of history; the only effectual manner of recognizing the great brotherhood of nations, and performing our part for posterity, as our ancestors performed theirs for us. This is the feeling which makes men earnest; bears them up through despondency and doubt; gives vigor to their actions by the nobleness of their aim; makes them ready to pardon and slow to condemn; teaches them firmness in trial and moderation in success; which leads them to hope from conviction, while they act from hope; and inspires them with that expansive and invigorating sympathy, which, without forgetting the duties of its birthright, recognizes in all things some end that is good, and in all men the image of their Maker.

#### LEGISLATORS OF RHODE ISLAND:

I have thus ventured, in a manner, which, I fear, may seem to you too desultory and disconnected, to touch upon some of the phases of historical science in its connection with the progress of society, and to glance at some of the great questions which it suggests. I would gladly have gone further, and have spoken of them in their connection with our own beloved country. But the lateness of the hour admonishes me that I have already reached my limits, and that the few moments that remain, must be devoted to the more immediate interests of the Society, in whose name I have the honor to address you. I shall not attempt to give you, even in outline, the history of our society. That task will be accomplished at some future anniversary, by an abler hand. Neither shall I speak to you of the objects of our association; for they were set forth with so much taste and elegance in the beautiful address with which our hall was inaugurated, that it would be presumption in me to do more than allude to them. But one thing I may venture to do, and that is, to remind you how vain all our efforts must be, without the active sympathy of our fellow-citizens. You, gentlemen, are making the history





which we are endeavoring to record, and which, while we are trying to catch a clear view of it, hurries by us, and mingles with the past.

*Dum loquimur fugerit invida  
Ætas.*

Pause then, for a moment, in this hurried flight of time, and see how surely all that you are doing for the present, has its cause and its explanation in the past. Remember how many a doubt has perplexed you, which a few lines, that some hand might once so easily have snatched from the fire, would have cleared away in an instant. Remember how many an hour you have passed in vain efforts to gather up the broken links of some neglected chain, a little fragment of which had been suffered to lie unheeded, until it was lost forever. Remember by what uninscribed grave-stones you have stood, and vainly asked the sunken earth, whose ashes had mouldered in its bosom. And then, look around you, and see how the present too is fading, and its records perishing from under our eyes. See how every day some new witness drops into the grave, bearing with him precious knowledge that can never be recovered again. See how much there is that from its nature must perish, how much that must always remain obscure, and then say, if you can hesitate to sympathize with us, in our humble efforts to preserve for our posterity, all that can still be preserved of those hallowed records, which unite us by so holy a bond to our forefathers. For of those forefathers, you like ourselves are justly proud. We are all proud of what they suffered and of what they performed. We are proud that there are names among them which can well compare with whatever history records of great and of good. We are proud of the principles with which they consecrated the soil of our native state, and the firmness with which they lived by them. We glory that when bigotry and fanaticism were desolating the rest of the world with the wildest excesses, the torch of "soul liberty" first shot its pure rays into the gloom from the shores of Rhode Island. And sure of the past, with that liberty for our guide, and leaning firmly on our anchor of Hope, we can look forward with unwavering trust, to the cares and the duties and the glories of the future.



## NOTES.

### *Page 1.*

The first anniversary discourse delivered before the society was that of Judge Durfee, delivered on the evening of the 13th January, 1847, on the philosophy of R. I. history. On the 18th of January, of the next year, his own life and character formed the subject of an elaborate discourse by Rowland G. Hazard, Esq.

### *Page 8.*

One of the most beautiful of Thorwaldsen's bas-reliefs represents Homer very nearly as he is described in the text.

### *Page 9.*

"E comé quei che con lena affannata,  
Uscito fuor del pelago alla riva,  
Si volge all' acqua perigliosa e guata."

*Dante — l'Inferno — c. 1.*

And like to him, that with deep panting breast,  
From the broad ocean to the shore escaped,  
Towards the perilous waters turns and gazes —.

### *Page 14.*

Cole's 'Voyage of life.' Not that I would represent Cole as a fatalist. Never was a man further from it, or who united in a higher degree, christian humility, with confidence in the dignity of human nature.

### *Page 14.*

This inexorable destiny corresponds to the noble picture of Fortuna. —

"—— che i ben del mondo ha sì tra branche"

in the VII. canto of the Inferno —

"—— general ministra e duce  
Che permutasse a tempo li ben vani,  
Di gente in gente, ed' uno in altro sangue,  
Oltre la difension de' senni umani.

Vostro saver non ha contrasto a lei." V. V. 68-94

And Boethius —

"Non illa miseros audit, haud curat fletus,  
Ultroque gemitus, dura quos facit, ridet."

### *Page 21.*

Address delivered before the Rhode Island Hist. Soc., at the opening of their Cabinet, on Wednesday, Nov. 20, 1844, by William Gammell, Professor of Rhetoric in Brown University.





THE SPIRIT OF RHODE-ISLAND HISTORY.

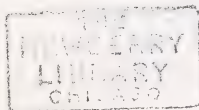
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LT. GOV. ARNOLD'S DISCOURSE

BEFORE THE

RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

January 17th, 1853.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE SPIRIT OF RHODE-ISLAND HISTORY.

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A

DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

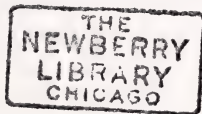
ON THE EVENING OF

MONDAY JANUARY 17, 1853.

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BY HON. SAMUEL GREENE ARNOLD,  
LIEUT. GOVERNOR OF RHODE-ISLAND.

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PROVIDENCE:  
GEORGE H. WHITNEY.  
1853.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

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WILSON JONES



At a meeting of the Rhode-Island Historical Society held on the 18th day of January 1853, it was unanimously

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Hon. Samuel G. Arnold, for the eloquent and appropriate Discourse delivered by him before the Society on the 17th of January instant, and that he be requested to place the original manuscript of his Discourse upon the files of the Society, and also to furnish a copy of the same for publication.

Attest,

H. T. BECKWITH, *Sec'y.*

PROVIDENCE, Jan. 19, 1853.

HON. SAM'L G. ARNOLD,

PROVIDENCE,

*Dear Sir:*—We hand you herewith a copy of a resolution passed by the R. I. Historical Society at their meeting yesterday, relative to the Discourse delivered by yourself before the Society.

In accordance with the above mentioned resolution, we have the pleasure to solicit a copy for the press, of your discourse delivered on the 17th instant.

Your ob't Serv'ts,

HENRY T. BECKWITH, } Committee  
GEO. BAKER, } on Annual  
JOHN A. HOWLAND, } Address.

PROVIDENCE, January 20, 1853.

GENTLEMEN,

Your letter accompanying the resolution of the Rhode-Island Historical Society requesting the manuscript for the files of the Society and a copy of the same for the press, is received. With my thanks for the friendly expressions contained in the resolution, I send herewith the manuscript subject to your disposal. The documentary evidence in proof of the facts stated in this discourse has been examined by me in the British State Paper office at London, as well as in our State Records.

It was my intention to add a few notes before letting the address go out of my hands, but the pressure of other engagements prevents my so doing.

I therefore send the manuscript as it is, and should it tend in any degree to awaken an interest in Historical research and thereby to promote the objects of the Society, its purpose will be attained.

With high regard I remain, Gentlemen,

Your ob't serv't,

SAMUEL GREENE ARNOLD.

To Messrs. H. T. BECKWITH, } Committee.  
GEO. BAKER, }  
J. A. HOWLAND, }



## DISCOURSE.

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GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY :—

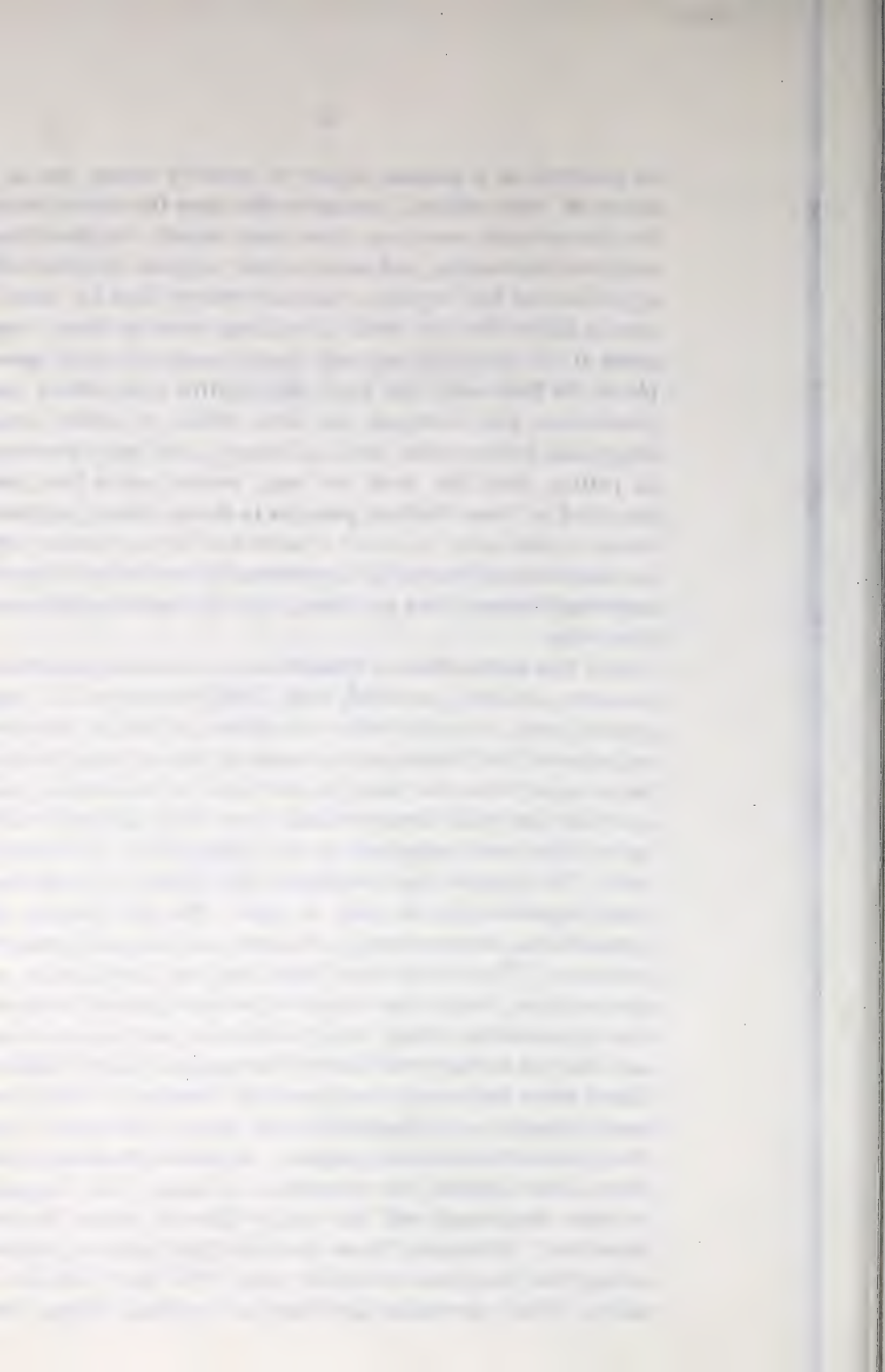
In conformity with established custom we have met again to celebrate the anniversary of our corporate existence. It is well that these reunions should take place for they serve to stimulate the exertions of our members and to further the objects of our association. They occur at a season when gentlemen representing every section and interest of our State are assembled for legislative action, many of whom are members of the society who at any other period could not be present at our meetings, and all of whom, whether members or otherwise, must from their position as legislators feel no ordinary interest in whatever pertains to the history or redounds to the honor of Rhode Island. Occasions like this revive the slumbering fire that else would smoulder beneath the mass of its own material—they urge to renewed effort the patient few who toil on unnoticed in the tedious task of original research—and more than this, they keep alive that glorious feeling, the Pride of State, to which history owes its brightest eras and Man his noblest deeds ; which made the Greek republics models for all time, and Attica, among the smallest, the foremost of them all. In this view of the advantages to be derived from our historical anniversaries let us consider for one moment how and why results so desirable are thus produced. It is simply because at this time only the opportunity occurs to spread abroad some knowledge gleaned from that mass of rich material rescued from oblivion in dusty garret and cobwebbed cellar, to





be preserved as a precious legacy to posterity among the archives of your cabinet ; because at this time the student who for history's sake pores over those musty records, deciphers the mildewed manuscript, and seeks in their originals the proofs of a glorious but half forgotten past, may emerge from his seclusion to diffuse the rich result of anxious hours of labor ; because at this time only may our Society speak out to the people of the State with that most authoritative voice which no government may disregard and live, which no nation can forego and flourish—the truth of history ; and lastly because in putting forth this truth we may, once a year at least, be reminded of those brilliant passages in Rhode Island progress which should serve to foster a noble love for the memory of our ancestors and encourage a generous determination to preserve their virtues, their principles, and the moral supremacy they won.

And this is that Pride of State without which our distinctive character, so long preserved, must finally be merged in the general mass, our individuality as a State be lost in the vast aggregate of the Nation, and the name of Rhode Island be no longer heard when the principles she first of all maintained, the spirit she first of all displayed shall have been adopted by all other States and recognized as the birthright of the human race. To preserve and perpetuate this feeling is for us the most important end to keep in view. To this Society is entrusted the precious charge—the truth and honor of a State's existence. While each sister State has had her historian to give enduring form to the records of her daring deeds, to make known to men her claims to high distinction, and to contribute each his part to the grand fabric of our national history, Rhode Island alone has stood aloof, remained inactive, or failed at least to assert her indisputable place among the earliest in Council and the foremost in action. No wonder then that rival States have claimed the precedence in many bold designs wherein they acted well but simply followed where Rhode Island led. We cannot blame them that they injure us while setting forth their own illustrious acts. The fault is in ourselves. Shut up within the closets of our State House, or



guarded by the walls of yonder cabinet lie piles of records that belong not to this State alone but, by prescriptive right, to this nation and mankind. Rarely have their dusty leaves been turned save by those who have their custody, and whose annual duty is to open somewhat of their contents to the world. By so doing we may hope to keep alive the ennobling sentiment of State pride, until the stigma of silence upon what has become a national as well as a local duty is removed by an authentic, plain and sober history of Rhode Island.

Thus far of the objects of this Society and the chief purpose of this anniversary.

It is with a feeling of unfeigned diffidence mingled with an emotion of pride at the grandeur of the theme that I approach the subject proposed for this discourse—the Spirit of Rhode Island History. A topic so pregnant with important truths, extending over a period of more than two centuries, embracing a long succession of salient facts in civil and ecclesiastical polity, illustrated by stirring incident, thrilling personal adventure and daring military achievement should not be lightly touched, yet cannot be condensed or fairly treated within the limits of an evening hour. To give but a scanty outline, a sketch of principles, with but a bare allusion to the facts that prove them—the essence and not the substance—is the most our time allows. If in the course of these remarks I make any assertion that may seem new and unsupported by familiar facts, or venture any opinion without stating the evidence of its truth be assured that it is from want of time and not of proof.

I have no historical theory to support, but simply aim to trace a principle.

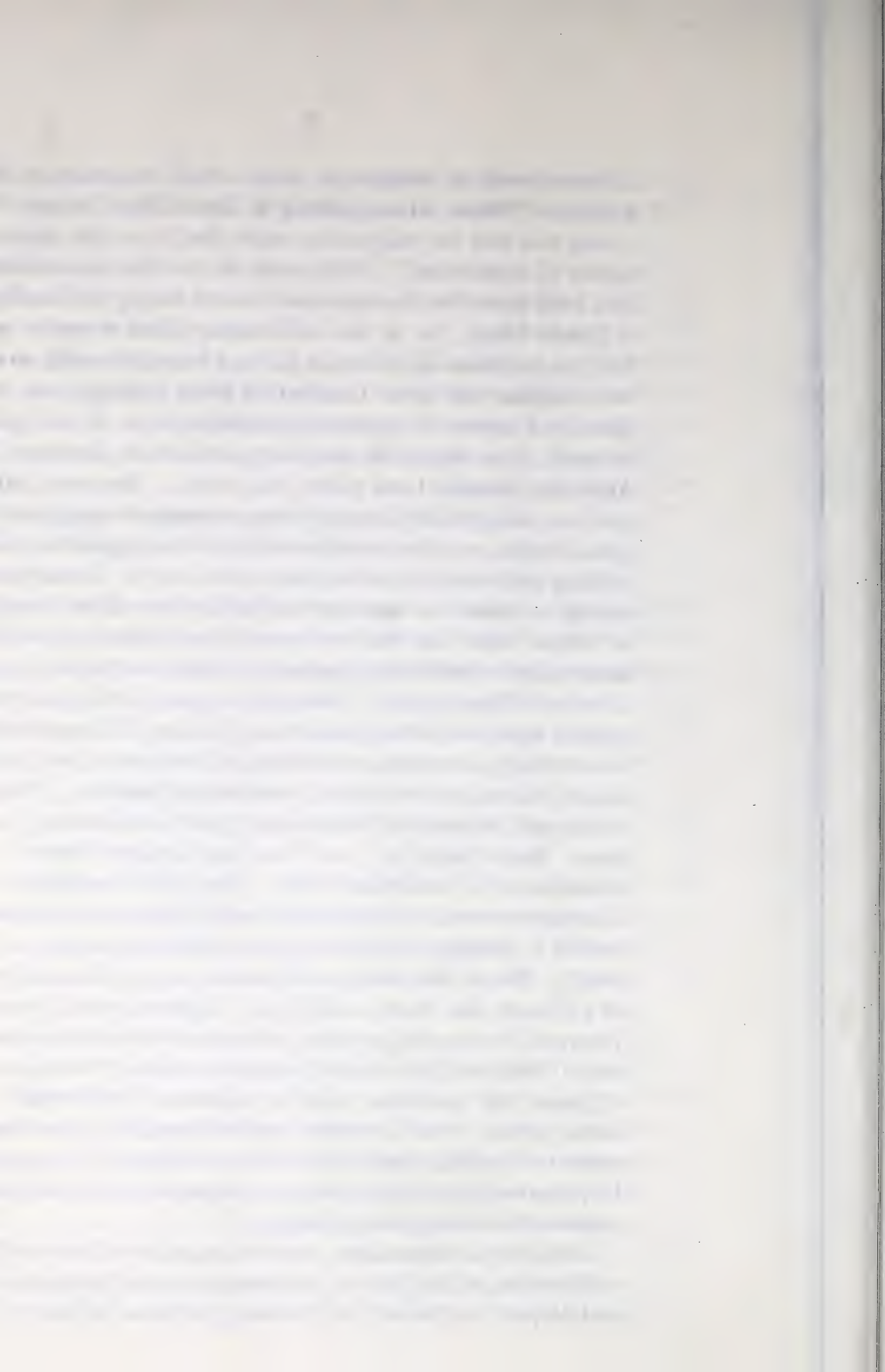
There probably never was a State the circumstances of whose settlement displayed so prominently a singleness of purpose animating the whole of its heterogeneous and conflicting elements as this. Certain it is, and admitted on all sides, by our early opponents in derision, and by ourselves with pride, that a more confused and discordant assemblage of exiles and outcasts than first peopled the shores and islands of the Narragansett never sought refuge in any land. The contempt of the Pharisee for his more humble but deserving brother, finds its counterpart





in those words of complacent scorn which we meet in the writings of Mather when speaking of Rhode Island he says "if a man had lost his religion he might find it at this general muster of opinionists." With pride do we their descendants look back upon the dissension and discord among the founders of Rhode Island, for as the All-Creating Mind wrought out from the confusion of chaos this fair and beautiful world, so do we recognize the same Omnipotent Deity shaping, from the disordered masses of the early colonists, a fabric of civil government, from which, in later days, the entire sisterhood of American republics have taken their model. Just such mingled and antagonistic elements were necessary to complete the grand design, and the more irreconcilable they appear the more striking and wonderful is the harmonious result. It may seem strange to those who have not studied the lives of the founders of Rhode Island that the very point upon which her revilers most relied to justify their contempt should now be held up as a source of honest pride. But there is more in this point than appears upon the surface, more than the men of Massachusetts were willing to concede, more than the bitterness of party strife could fathom in those days of unrelenting hostility. Men of strong and independent minds rarely think alike on many subjects. Each takes his own view and reflects therein the character of his individual mind. Diversity of opinions and clashing interests, as each leading mind gathers its followers around it, forming sects in religion or parties in politics, is the result. Men of this stamp could not long endure the dead calm of a Church and State mediocrity. A system which checks progress by repressing enquiry, reducing all to a uniform standard of faith and practice, may compel uniformity for the sake of peace, but purchases it at the expense of intellectual and moral power. Such a system must be inimical to the development of leading principles or enlarged ideas, for it can only be preserved by crushing precisely that style of mind which is capable of evolving such principles.

Mediocrity in the masses, and a concentration of the intellect and learning of the State in the dominant class, few in number and despotic in feeling, but infusing, by virtue of their supe-



riority, the bias of their minds through the whole body politic is the inevitable result of compulsory conformity. The men who quietly submit to this condition of things may be educated, talented and refined, but they lack the genius which is essential to progress, and the force which gives stimulus to action. The presence of these qualities would unfit them for so quiet and so despotic a meridian, for the free development of the nobler attributes of mind requires the genial atmosphere of freedom. Thus thought the fathers of Rhode Island when the banishment of their leader convinced them that the authorities of the Bay had resolved at all hazards to suppress free discussion, and that submission or exile were the only alternatives. In the *spirit of liberty* they deserted their homes to realize in the wilderness their conceptions of a State. Nor was it only upon points of theological difference that the rupture occurred. In matters of religious belief the founders of this State, as the above cited words of Dr. Mather prove, were as much at variance with each other as with the community they left. Deep hidden in the heart of Man lies the feeling which prompted their movement, too deep for sectarian conflict to disturb, too vehement for practice on any field not specially prepared for its development. Civil as well as religious freedom was their desire, and to embody both in a constitutional government the yet untried experiment they sought. Differing in their views upon almost every other subject they agreed with singular unanimity upon one. Disputing upon points of doctrinal theology, differing as to the nature and forms of civil government, conflicting in their notions of the principle and limits of law, and contending about natural and proprietary rights, they were nevertheless cordially united upon one article of compact—that spiritual accountability was to God alone. Here we have at once the source of their discord, and the singleness of purpose which triumphed over all. Strong minded, independent men, with a free arena of their own selection on which to act, might well present a stirring scene in contrast to the neighboring calm. We repeat that such an ancestry engaged in such a cause is a worthy object for our pride, and the stormy ordeal through which they passed attests the intellectual power which

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 is not only unfair but also inefficient. It is unfair because it  
 places a heavy burden on the middle class, while the rich and  
 the poor are exempted. It is inefficient because it does not  
 encourage the production of goods and services, which is the  
 only way to increase the national income. The second of these  
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crowned their efforts with success. Growing out of this spirit of liberty which we recognize as the moving cause of the settlement of Rhode Island, and forming an essential portion of it, was the spirit of tolerance. Not that simple toleration which permits by sufferance the existence of other forms of worship than the one established by law, but that broad and comprehensive freedom of conscience embraced in the language of our first legislative enactment, "all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God." This new doctrine, which thus met the sanction of men who could agree upon no other principle, formed the distinctive feature of the colony. It was the prominent idea in the mind of its founder, and was embraced, with the zeal which persecution only can inspire, by the entire mass of his followers. These two leading principles, civil freedom and religious tolerance, unite to form that perfect spirit of liberty which gave origin to Rhode Island, and which we shall find steadily pervading the policy of the State through the long course of its history.

The American colonies with two exceptions owe their foundation to the spirit of commercial enterprise or personal adventure.

The cause of the Pilgrim emigration was, in the first instance a religious one, the desire, not of religious freedom, but of freedom to enjoy their own religion. The Puritan influx ten years later, by the terms of the grant from the Council of Plymouth, created a distinct trading corporation, and the two settlements were soon united in the great colony of Massachusetts. The other colony is that of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, owing its foundation alone to the spirit of liberty, which elsewhere could find no congenial home.

To the two leading principles already mentioned should be added one other, equally prominent with the early settlers, but not so fully kept in view, now that the occasion has passed away. Possession by right of discovery was a European doctrine coeval with the days of Columbus and de Gama. First exercised by the Supreme Pontiff, who claimed the exclusive right as God's Vicegerent to the temporal control of all newly discovered countries, it was soon adopted by the maritime



powers as a part of the royal prerogative. Overlooking that principle of justice which establishes propriety in the original possessor, the sovereigns of Europe did not hesitate to assert their claim over both Americas. The rights of the aborigines, heathens and barbarians as they were, presented no obstacles to these enlightened and Christian legislators. Their heathenism was handed over to the tender mercies of the Church, their barbarism to the civilizing agency of gunpowder and steel. Although the method of administration was more summary in the Spanish and Portuguese possessions, the principle, in its broadest extent, was recognized by the British crown, though rarely acted upon by the English colonists. Against the abstract right, as well as the positive abuse of these pretensions, the settlement of Rhode Island was the first solemn protest. Mercy and justice conspired to raise the voice of indignant rebuke against the wholesale assumption of territorial rights urged by the Council of Plymouth under their patent from King James. For the bold denunciation of those words of the patent in which the King, as the "Sovereign Lord" of this continent, grants by his "special grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge," a large portion of America, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the Council of Plymouth, Roger Williams was twice subjected to the censure of the authorities of Massachusetts. By this act the founder of Rhode Island, in the spirit of justice, denied, in favor of the Indians, that royal supremacy which his descendants, 140 years later, in the spirit of liberty, spurned in favor of themselves.

This attribute of justice, being in its nature negative, implying, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a determination not to be instrumental in inflicting wrong, and now that the occasion which made it prominent has passed away, has been overlooked amid the more active and dazzling elements of our history; yet it deserves a conspicuous place among the fundamental principles of the settlement of Rhode Island. As it was a leading idea in the origin of the State, so did it shortly prove the chief protection to its existence. To the correct and well timed application of this principle to the affairs of the aborigines we owe the lasting friendship of those powerful





Sachems who at one time controlled the destinies of New England. To the fidelity of the Indians towards their fellows in contempt and persecution, the founders of the State owe it that they were not swept from the face of the earth by the banded tribes when the New England confederacy was formed and Rhode Island was ignominiously excluded from the league for mutual defence. This forbearance on the part of barbarian hordes, enraged by a series of wrongs, and thirsting for vengeance on the whites, was due to no policy of the moment, dictated by impending danger to be broken in the hour of safety. It was the result of years of confidence implanted in the bosoms of Massasoit and Canonicus by the founders of Rhode Island, and perpetuated in the memory, and the conduct of their successors.

Very soon after the organization of the colony this spirit of justice, uniting itself with the instinct of political self preservation, evolved a system of laws adapted to the exigencies of the time and place, and in point of the liberality of its provisions, far beyond the spirit of the age. The first legislative code of Rhode Island, adopted in May 1647, was grand in its simplicity, and glorious in its acknowledgment of the practicability of self government. It recognized the democratic principle in its broadest extent, for at that time, as in the earlier periods of the Greek republics, the whole colony assembled in what was termed "a General Court of Election." A majority being present their acts were binding upon the whole, as is expressed in the opening of the Assembly when, having first chosen a Moderator "It was voted and found, that the major part of the colony were present at this Assembly, whereby was full power to transact." The next step was to provide against the withdrawal of so great a number as to defeat the object of the meeting by putting a stop to legislation. For this purpose the number of forty was agreed upon who, in case the rest should depart, were required to remain "and act as if the whole were present, and be of as full authority." In the establishment of this compulsory quorum we recognize the germ of the representative system, which the increasing number of the colonists soon rendered necessary. The Assembly



being thus organized, and the initiatory steps taken to secure its permanence and authority, "It was agreed that all should set their hands to an engagement to the charter."

The origin and character of this charter are deserving of more careful attention than we can now bestow. The position in which the four Rhode Island colonies were placed in reference to each other and to the more powerful, and at that time hostile colonies around them, demanded that some means should be taken to increase their efficiency at home and their respectability abroad. They were settled at different times. Providence in the spring of 1636. Portsmouth in the spring of 1638. Newport in the following spring, and Warwick in the winter of 1642—3. Although the same causes led to these settlements they were independent of each other in every respect, managing their affairs in their own town meetings, and conducting for themselves, as best they could, their disputes with the Puritan colonies. It was soon found that such small communities were too feeble to resist the pressure from without or to preserve harmony within. Consolidation was essential to self preservation and to the maintenance of their cherished principles.

On the 14th March 1644 the labors of Mr. Williams with the English Commissioners at London were brought to a successful termination by the grant of the first patent of Rhode Island.

This patent was general in its character, conferring absolute independence on the Colony of Rhode Island, under the name and style of "The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay in New England." The single proviso with which it was fettered, to wit that "the laws, constitutions and punishments, for the civil government of the said plantation, be conformable to the laws of England" was practically annulled in the same sentence by the subjoined words, "so far as the nature and constitution of that place will admit." Thus the people were left free to enact their own laws, for this qualifying clause in effect defeated the proviso. No charter had ever been granted up to that time which conferred so ample powers upon a community, and but one as free has ever emanated since from a throne of the monarch.





The other remarkable feature in this instrument consists not in what it specified but in what it omitted. The use of the word "civil," every where prefixed to the terms "government" or "laws" wherever they occur in the patent, served to restrict the operation of the charter to purely political concerns. In this apparent restriction there lay concealed a boon of freedom such as man had never known before. A grant so great no language could convey, for the very use of words would imply the power to grant and hence the coordinate power to refuse. Here was the essence of the Rhode Island doctrine. They denied the right of Man to arrogate an attribute of Deity. They held themselves accountable to God alone for their religious creed, and no earthly power could bestow on them a right they held from Heaven. Hence the expressive silence of the charter on the subject of religious freedom. At their own request their powers were limited to civil matters. Beyond this a silence more significant than language, more impressive than eloquence, more powerful than an hundred edicts proclaimed the triumph of soul-liberty.

This patent prescribed no form of government, all was left to the people with the fullest powers to adopt and act under it as they pleased. It was a task, as delicate and difficult as it was imperative, to consolidate the towns. A spirit of compromise and mutual concession was requisite to the work. Two and a half years elapsed after the glorious patent was received before it was adopted, at the time, and in the manner above described. This done the Assembly next proceeded to adopt the representative system, by providing that "a week before any general court, notice should be given to every town by the head officer, that they choose a committee for the transaction of the affairs there," and they also provide for a proxy vote in the words "and such as go not may send their votes sealed." Their next step was to the election of President and Assistants of the Colony by ballot, and John Coggeshall was chosen President. The mode of passing general laws was then prescribed and deserves attention for the care with which it provides for obtaining a free expression of the opinions of the whole people. All laws were to be first discussed in the towns. The



town first proposing it was to agitate the question in town meeting and conclude by vote. The town clerk was to send a copy of what was agreed on to the other three towns, who were likewise to discuss it and take a vote in town meeting. They then handed it over to a committee of six men from each town, freely chosen, which committees constituted "the General Court," who were to assemble at a call for the purpose, and, if they found the majority of the Colony concurred in the case, it was to stand as a law "till the next General Assembly of all the people," who were finally to decide whether it should continue as law or not. Thus the laws emanated directly from the people; the General Court having no power of revision over cases already presented, but simply the duty of promulgating the laws with which the towns had entrusted them. The right to originate legislation was however vested in them to be carried out in this way. When the Court had disposed of the matters for which it was called, should any case be presented upon which the public good seemed to require their action, they were to debate and decide upon it. Then each committee, on returning to their town, was to report the decision, which was to be debated and voted upon in each town—the votes to be sealed and sent by each town clerk to the General Recorder, who, in presence of the President, was to count the votes. If a majority were found to have adopted the law it was to stand as such till the next General Assembly should confirm or repeal it. The jealousy with which the people maintained their rights, and the checks thus put upon themselves in the exercise of the law making power, as displayed in this preliminary section of the code, present most forcibly the union of the two elements of liberty and law in the Rhode Island mind, the natural development of the spirit of freedom in harmony with the spirit of justice.

The preamble and bill of rights, prefixed to the code of civil and criminal law adopted on this occasion, is a remarkable production. Brief, simple and comprehensive, it embraces in a few words the fundamental principles of all our subsequent legislation. It declares "that the form of government established in Providence Plantations is Democratic, that is to say,





a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part, of the free inhabitants." This position was no less novel and startling to the statesmen of that day than was the doctrine of religious freedom. Both of these dogmas were exclusively Rhode Island notions, and to her belongs the credit of them both. This first General Assembly aimed to adopt a code that should secure each of these objects, and thus be "suitable to the nature and constitution of the place." They succeeded, and we hazard little in saying that the code of 1647, for simplicity of diction, unencumbered as it is by the superfluous verbiage which clothes our modern statutes in learned obscurity, for breadth of comprehension, embracing as it does the foundation of the whole body of law on every subject which has since been adopted, and for vigor and originality of thought and boldness of expression, as well as for the vast significance and the brilliant triumph of the principles it embodies, presents a model of legislation which has never been surpassed.

We have now seen how this spirit of justice was first exercised towards the Indians, and then, in their own defence, evolved the law element in the Colonial constitution, protecting the rights of minorities in confining, by every possible check, the action of the majority within certain prescribed limits. The union of these two elements, liberty and law, developed with singular intensity a spirit of patriotism. Nowhere has this feeling had more public prominence, or kindled a brighter flame in the individual heart than in Rhode Island. It has been said that the love of country exists in an inverse ratio with the extent of territory. Were this thesis correct we need look no further to account for the most active and striking feature of Rhode Island history. But a sounder philosophy will discover in moral effects a moral cause, and not content itself with assigning a merely physical reason for results that spring from the deepest fountains of Man's nature. Every point which we have described as giving a distinctive character to the early history of our State converged to this. It took form almost at the outset from the causes assigned, and it glowed with a stronger, purer flame from the peculiar nature of those



causes. Here was their country. Twice banished for opinion's sake the whole civilized world was closed against them. No form of civil government then existing could recognize their Democracy, and even Christian charity denied their faith. Rhode Island was their only refuge; reverence for the law their only safeguard, and so long as the law could not interfere with religion they knew their liberties were secure. Every incentive to patriotism that exists in the instinct of self-preservation, or in the consciousness of being the exclusive guardians of principles destined to alter the whole current of human affairs and elevate Man to a position never before attained, was presented to the founders of Rhode Island. No wonder that the love of country in early times, and the pride of State in later years, have formed so marked a feature in our history. We shall presently see how prominent this feeling became, and how widely and rapidly it extended, when the spirit of Rhode Island had infused itself through all the colonies, and her cause had become the cause of United America.

We have now reviewed the most conspicuous points in the moral history of the State; the spirit of liberty in its two branches, civil and religious; the spirit of justice in its negative application to the aborigines, and its positive results in evolving the code of 1647; and the spirit of patriotism resulting from the harmonious union of these elements. These points will serve as landmarks to all that follows. They form the nucleus of two centuries of progress, and the safe standards by which to judge how far we have acted out the principles of our ancestors.

But there is one other feature in our history which should not be overlooked. It is one that held a striking prominence for more than a century, and only ceased to be conspicuous when the occasion that produced it passed away. It is a *spirit of forbearance*, of brotherly kindness, of charity; a feeling, by whatever name it may be called which led them alike to shield the oppressed and to pity rather than to scorn the oppressor. It was no temporizing policy which led them at one time to exert their powerful influence with the Indians in behalf of their persecutors, and at another to set their faces like an im-





movable rock, in defence of their principles, against the arrogance of the neighboring colonies. Now we see them acting as mediators to protect the Puritans, and now harboring and defending the Quakers from their insolent demands. In every position they stood true to their glorious principle of freedom, and ready to extend the hand of kindness and open the heart of charity wherever a fellow being needed their devotion, were he friend or foe. It is no pleasant task to support these remarks by an appeal to the impartial page of history. Rather would we pass in silence the records of an age of bigotry to dwell upon that brighter era when early antipathies became merged in the ultimate triumph of Rhode Island principles, and the confederated colonies reflect a common lustre in an age of heroism. But we are called on for the proofs and they shall be presented, enough but not all of them, and briefly too, for we wish not to dwell upon the exciting theme of wrong and outrage. A few months after the banishment of Roger Williams the Pequod war broke out. This powerful tribe had sent ambassadors to the Narragansetts to effect a league that should involve in its fatal results the utter destruction of the English. Mr. Williams was the only man in New England who could avert the impending evil. His own life and that of the few who had joined him was secure in the love of the Narragansetts. Still at the risk of his life, from the Pequot tomahawks and the perils of the way, he sought the wigwam of Canonicus and accomplished what Mr. Bancroft has pronounced "the most intrepid and most successful achievement of the whole war; an action as perilous in its execution as it was fortunate in its issue." What was the reward of his magnanimity? Gov. Winthrop moved in the General Court that Mr. Williams be recalled from banishment and honored with some high mark of favor. To the lasting disgrace of the Puritans the question was allowed to drop unnoticed. More vile ingratitude does not illustrate the annals of bigotry in any age.

The same vindictive spirit was displayed toward the people of Rhode Island when in 1642 the New England confederacy was formed, chiefly for protection against the Indians. Although the colonies then owed their existence to the heroism



of Rhode Island, the application for admittance to the league was sternly refused, except she would renounce her principles and submit to the hierarchal despotism of her neighbors. This she refused to do and she was basely left to stand alone amid dangers from famine, pestilence and war. Her only strength was in the valor of her sons and the truth of her principles. Had the law of retaliation been her guide, as it has been of most governments, she would have been justified by the perils to which she was exposed, and might have compelled admission to the league by withholding her restraining influence from the Indians. It is one of the brightest spots in her history that in this dark hour the magnanimity of her founder actuated her councils. Turning from the ingratitude of the Puritans, she appealed to the King. A free charter was obtained. The despised colony now assumed the rank of an independent State, and to the subsequent harshness of her neighbors was enabled to oppose the language of bold but courteous remonstrance.

Very soon a third occasion for the exercise of a spirit of forbearance was presented, when on the return of Mr. Williams with the charter, in the autumn of 1644, he found New England again on the point of being involved in Indian war. The Narragansetts had resolved to avenge the murder of Miantinomi upon the Mohegans. Once more his salutary influence was successfully exerted to avert the impending evil. A treaty was concluded, and for the second time within eight years, New England owed her peace and safety to the magnanimity of her victim. The last example we shall mention of hostility on one side and generosity on the other occurred in 1658 while the terrible persecution of the Quakers was at its height. Rhode Island was urged to join in the fierce oppression. The insolence of the Puritan colonies, exulting in their strength, unmindful of past favors, but jealous of the growing prosperity of "the heretic State," now displayed itself in measures of constraint, and threats of exclusion from all intercourse or trade with rest of New England, to force her from her fidelity to the cause of religious freedom; but in vain. The result of this controversy was an appeal to Cromwell by the General Assembly that "they may not be compelled to exercise any civil





power over men's consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted or violated." But letters of remonstrance from Old England had little effect in New, and it was not till the dawn of a brighter day, when Rhode Island principles had achieved their own triumph, that the occasion for forbearance by reason of injuries received, and for protection to the victims of Puritan persecution ceased for ever.

We have now sketched the principal features in the early history of the State: the ground work of a superstructure which the more closely we examine it the more remarkable it will appear. Standing as she did from the beginning in striking contrast to every other British colony, originating principles unknown to them and unheard of in the world, contending for those principles as for her very existence, and acting upon them with a persistence proportioned to their importance, she could not fail to present many points peculiar to herself so long as she stood alone, the exclusive champion of ideas now every where admitted. Her annals, from the date of her first charter down to the day when with reluctant hand and doubting heart she signed the death-warrant of her individuality, and merged her distinct existence in the American Union, are replete with action, which here, as no where else, displayed the spirit of the people. There is much in this history to condemn, very much to admire and imitate; but the former will be found to pertain for the most part to private acts, the latter to the government, which has always expressed in Rhode Island the organized will of the whole people. The conflict of ideas as to the limits and the practical application of the principles we have named, often produced a degree of political excitement in Rhode Island from which the other colonies were exempt. Parties were formed, and questions often slight in themselves, but involving in their principles the very existence of the new institutions, were discussed, in village meeting and in General Assembly, with a bitterness unknown to modern debate, and with results at times threatening to disorganize society. Feuds arose between neighboring settlements which sometimes led to acts of violence, and on one occasion caused the fatal policy of intervention to be adopted, by calling in the aid of Massachu-



setts under the plea of obtaining her protection. An armed force invaded Rhode Island, captured Gorton and a few others, and threw them into prison for many months on a charge of blasphemy. The internal strifes were in time appeased by the decision of commissioners appointed by the General Assembly. The external ones were of longer duration and more serious import.

Meanwhile a new and unlooked for trial arose in Rhode Island, which was to test yet more severely the loyalty of the people to their free institutions. The turmoil occasioned by the factious spirit of the towns furnished the ambition of Coddington with the occasion and the excuse for his usurpation. In 1651 William Coddington went to England and by some means procured from the Council of State a commission for life as Governor of the island of Rhode Island. This daring act, so inconsistent with the republican spirit of the colony, was met by a prompt and decisive rebuke on the part of the people. A second time Mr. Williams was sent to England to exert his powerful influence in behalf of the colony; and with him was associated a man whose name should ever be held in the highest veneration in this State, for his talent, his energy, and his exalted worth. A fitting companion for Roger Williams was John Clark. The mission was successful. Coddington's power was revoked. Mr. Williams returned the next year. Dr. Clark remained in England as permanent agent, and ultimately obtained the second charter in 1663. It is difficult at this distance of time to form a just estimate of Coddington's conduct in this affair. The censure of the people was prompt and decisive, and continued for more than twenty years to exclude him from the head of government, although he was repeatedly elected Representative and Assistant. His talents and real worth however ultimately succeeded in restoring the general confidence, so that he was four times chosen Governor under the second charter.

The restoration of the Stuarts, annulling the acts of the Long Parliament, obliged Rhode Island to seek a renewal of her privileges by another charter. It was at an auspicious moment, when Charles II was yet barely seated upon his throne, that the





talent and energy of Dr. Clark obtained this instrument. It confirmed every thing that the previous patent had given, and vested even greater powers in the people. Under it the State was an absolute sovereignty with powers to make its own laws, religious freedom was guaranteed, and no oath of allegiance was required. Rhode Island become in fact, and almost in name, an independent State from that day. To the minds of the King and of Lord Clarendon it was a curious experiment. They would yield to the whims of that singular little colony to see what would come of it. George III and Lord North *saw what became of it*. The act of July 8th 1663 resulted in the act of July 4 1776. The memorable words of King Charles, when he granted the charter, contained at once a pleasantry and a prediction.

The State now occupied a higher position than her neighbors could claim. Her idea was realized. Freedom was no longer a phantom of philosophy, but an existing fact. Still this did not silence her Puritan oppressors. The spirit of Church and State was aroused at the prospective triumph of free principles. The neighboring colonies boldly asserted their pretensions to nearly the whole soil of Rhode Island. Connecticut claimed all Narragansett. Massachusetts claimed Providence and Warwick, and both resorted to violence to confirm their jurisdiction. Plymouth claimed Rhode Island and the eastern towns. She alone pressed her claims with moderation and quietly yielded to the decisions of the British Commissioners; but Plymouth was a Pilgrim colony and animated by a more liberal spirit than was shown by the Puritan provinces. These external strifes occupy a large portion of our history for nearly a century after the date of the charter, and much of the correspondence with the home government, still preserved in the archives at London, relates to these boundary disputes.

The accumulated wrongs of forty years, at length wrought their natural result in an alliance of all the Indian tribes against the New England confederacy, and Rhode Island, which had never been admitted to the league, became the battle ground in Philip's war. The New England forces, 1000 strong, passed through Providence, receiving accessions of volunteers



as they marched on to South Kingston, where, "in the great swamp fight," the power of the Narragansetts was broken forever. The government of Rhode Island being, in the years 1675 and 6, in the hands of the Quakers, she took but little part in that war; and as the Indians were her friends, she suffered but little till near the close of the war, when Providence was partially burnt and Warwick entirely so, and the greater part of the inhabitants of the mainland towns took refuge on the island. At this time the first step was taken by Rhode Island towards a system of defence in which she was afterwards destined to take preeminence. A naval armament, slender to be sure, for her means were most limited, but adequate as it proved for the purpose, was equipped, consisting of row boats which were employed in guarding the island against invasion from the main land. In these four gunboats we see the germ of a future Rhode Island squadron, one century later, and an ultimate American navy.

When the war was over the prisoners were mostly sold into slavery for life. Rhode Island proved herself more enlightened in this respect, and passed a law in March, 1676, prohibiting Indian slavery, and placing the captives upon the same footing as white apprentices. This was consistent with the spirit of freedom and in conformity with the act of May, 1652, prohibiting negro and white slavery, both of which were in use at that time. That law is believed to be the first legislative enactment in the history of this continent, if not of the world, for the suppression of slavery, and is as honorable to the State as its devotion to those principles of freedom more generally known as its own. Those who examine the past legislation of Rhode Island, will discover many acts which, like this, deserve to be better known; laws that embodied the peculiarities of Rhode Island sentiment, and present a marked and creditable contrast to every contemporary code. But this subject would furnish a theme of itself.

We pass on to observe how the State maintained her position during the severest trial she had yet experienced. The commission of Sir Edmund Andros was a virtual revocation of her glorious charter. A writ of *quo warranto* had been





issued against it in June, 1686. This colony promptly and prudently declined to stand suit with His Majesty, threw themselves upon his mercy, and petitioned for pardon "if through ignorance they had erred," but carefully retained their charter in possession, although suspending for a while its exercise. The conduct of the people of Rhode Island, throughout this difficult affair, evinced a degree of diplomatic address which obtained for them some privileges not accorded to the other colonies, and with which all their subsequent intercourse with the mother country, till near the separation, is replete. Rhode Island and Plymouth at once bowed to the storm they could not avert. The other colonies resolutely refused for a while, and Massachusetts lost her charter in consequence. Although the government of Andros has been held up as one of absolute tyranny, and justly so as respects the greater part of his administration, the other New England colonies complained most bitterly of those acts which Rhode Island could not but approve, and some of which, as seeming to be favors shown to her, were construed into acts of hostility to them. So little is known of the details of his government, most of the records of the Council having been lost, and so general is the prejudice against him to this day, that it may sound strange to say, that in any respect Sir Edmund Andros was a benefactor to Rhode Island. "The evil that men do lives after them, the good is often interred with their bones." So has it been with Andros. His will was arbitrary. His rule, even in Rhode Island, where it was mildest, was oppressive; but his acts, where they were good, should not be forgotten even though the evil predominates. He sought to establish universal toleration in religion. This was abhorrent to Massachusetts. In her estimation it was rampant *Rhode Islandism*. His object to be sure was to secure a foothold for the Church of England, not to favor the principle. But Rhode Island could not object to see her free ideas adopted by a despot, although what was a principle with her was merely policy with him. The long disputed boundary with Connecticut was established by Andros in accordance with the claims of Rhode Island. This added a new cause of complaint in which our State could not unite. So long as he



ruled, Rhode Island was secure from the insults of her neighbors and protected against them in her rights. The courteous treatment which he here received, compared with the rudeness elsewhere shown him, led him to represent Rhode Island in his despatches in favorable contrast with the other colonies. It is not improbable that the assurances of her loyalty repeatedly given by Andros, had some effect in securing the tacit confirmation of her chartered rights under the succeeding reign. But at best it was only the smile of a despot. Rhode Island felt that she was chained and longed to breathe again the air of freedom. The approach of the revolution of 1688 was the signal for the fall of Andros. In the turmoil that ensued he escaped to Rhode Island, was seized at Newport in August, 1689, sent back to Boston and there imprisoned. Rhode Island meanwhile had, on the first of May, 1689, resumed her government under the charter, restored the officers whose term of service was interrupted by the arrival of Andros in 1686, and adopted an address, carefully directed "to the present supreme power in England," which is a model of diplomacy.

The war with France and Spain now engaged the attention of the colonies. In July, 1690, a French fleet captured Block Island, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and attempted to take Newport at night by surprise, after which they attacked New London, but were beaten off. Rhode Island at once equipped two vessels with 90 men, to retake Block Island. The expedition was commanded by Capt. Paine. A bloody action took place off the island, on the 21st, against five sail of French vessels. It lasted two hours and a half till darkness put an end to the conflict. The next morning the French sailed, having lost nearly one half their men in killed and wounded, while Capt. Paine lost but seven. He gave chase and compelled them to sink a prize which they had taken. This brilliant exploit at once inspired our people with a naval spirit. It was the first essay of Rhode Island on the open ocean, and the worthy harbinger of many daring deeds. French and English privateers now began to infest the American seaboard, and, as a natural result, when the war was over this degenerated into piracy. The eighteenth century opens upon a scene of pirati-





cal adventure, in which all New England and New York were deeply involved. Rhode Island came in for her share, and the notorious Capt. Kidd is known to have frequented the waters of the bay, and to have had accomplices here as well as in Boston and New York. The Earl of Bellemont, then Governor of Massachusetts, in a letter to the Board of Trade, says, that Gov. Cranston should be called to account for "conniving at pirates and making Rhode Island their sanctuary." It should be remembered, however, that not only privateering, but any Custom House irregularity, in those days, was branded with the name of piracy, and hence we find frequent complaints against the Deputy Collectors and other officers in Rhode Island for this crime. A colony which, in its first code, adopted for itself the sea laws of Oleron, and conducted under its charter a foreign trade, without much regard to the regulations of the home government concerning that trade, could not fail, under such circumstances, to subject itself to these charges. Hence we find that Rhode Island came in for more than her share of blame, and complaints of this kind were frequently entered against her, until that audacious act of "flagrant piracy," as it was termed, the capture of His Majesty's armed schooner *Gaspee*, filled to the brim the cup of British indignation and led to the separation of the colonies.

The boldness of Rhode Island, in assuming Admiralty jurisdiction, which caused so much ill will toward her, was carried still further when Dudley, who succeeded as Governor of Massachusetts upon the death of Lord Bellemont, attempted, by virtue of a royal commission, to assume the military command of Rhode Island, then amounting to about 2000 men. In Sept., 1702, Dudley with some of his council and an escort of cavalry, came to Newport and published his commission. A sharp interview took place between Governors Cranston and Dudley, the former insisting upon the militia clause of the charter as paramount to His Majesty's commission to the latter, and refusing a definite reply till the Assembly should meet in October. That afternoon, Dudley gave orders to the commander of the regiment on the island to parade next day, but was refused by him on the ground that he was sworn to obey the General



Assembly, or the Governor and Council, and recognized no other authority. Dudley and his escort at once left the island. The Assembly was convened immediately, and addressed a letter to Gov. Dudley, and another to the Board of Trade, pleading their chartered rights in defence of their conduct. A similar attempt had been made by Sir William Phipps, ten years before, and was several times repeated subsequent to Dudley's repulse, but always with the same successful result on the part of Rhode Island. Without recounting the constant difficulties which sprung up between this State and England, for the next half century, we may say in brief, that they often arose from ignorance or disregard in the British government of the charter of Rhode Island, granted so long before, and differing so essentially from any existing charter, as well as from the reason sometimes alleged, the attempt of Rhode Island to usurp more than her real charter privileges. She held on to that charter as to the last hope of freedom—and she was right.

The peace of Ryswick, in 1697, lasted but four years. The war of the Spanish succession ensued. The national debt of England dates from this period. The New England colonies were called to take an active part in hostilities against the French in America. Rhode Island had already outlived the ban of proscription, which once excluded her from the New England confederacy, and was expected and ready to take part in the contest in common with her neighbors. The treaty of Utrecht in 1713, gave but temporary relief to the combatants. The whole eighteenth century in fact, down to the peace of Paris in 1763, was occupied in wars, in which the colonies were constantly engaged in naval expeditions, or employed in self defence against the savages and the French. In these struggles, Rhode Island bore a creditable part; but it was not till her own peculiar principles were directly attacked, that her full energies were exerted, and the same position boldly taken against England which had already prevailed against her early oppressors.

The spirit of freedom was roused to its final struggle by the acts of the British parliament. The enormous national debt of England, called for some extraordinary means to increase the





revenue. To enforce the navigation laws, which had always been obnoxious in Rhode Island, and to impose stamp duties, which implied the right to tax without representation, were the modes adopted. In September, 1765, the General Assembly passed resolutions declaring that in themselves alone existed the right to tax the colony, directing the State officers to disregard all laws for this purpose emanating from any other source, and assuring them immunity in so doing. This was the boldest act on record, up to that date. It fell little short of the absolute declaration of independence, passed by the General Assembly ten years later. The act was followed by movements in the same direction throughout the country, which resulted in the repeal of the stamp act a few months later. A system of duties on imports, was next attempted. It was immediately resisted, and non-importation agreements entered into by all the colonies. From this measure resulted the first blow struck in the American revolution. The first shot fired in that war was spent in Narragansett bay. The first British blood spilt in the great conflict for freedom was that of Lieut. Duddington, commanding H. B. M.'s schooner *Gaspee*. It was on the 9th June, 1772. The *Gaspee* had been stationed here to enforce the revenue laws, and her commander was rigid beyond reason in the discharge of his commission, compelling even the river craft to heave to when he pleased. On that day, in chasing a sloop, he ran aground on what is now called, from this circumstance, *Gaspee point*. The sloop brought up the news to Providence. In the evening, an expedition of eight boats was fitted out. Quietly, with muffled oars, they approached the *Gaspee*; nor were they discovered until resistance was too late. The struggle was brief. The crew were secured, and, with their wounded leader, landed on the shore near *Pawtuxet*. In the flames of the burning *Gaspee*, were consumed that night the last hope or wish of pardon, and the colony now prepared, with vigor, for the inevitable war. No clue to the perpetrators of this act of unequalled daring could ever be obtained by England, although large rewards were offered.



The captors of the Gaspee were patriots not "pirates," and England found their motive stronger than the love of gain. On the 17th May, 1774, the town of Providence moved for a Continental Congress, and on the 15th June, the Assembly elected Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward as delegates to the Congress. In this suggestion, Rhode Island again was foremost among the States, and in the election, she preceded, by two days, the action of Massachusetts, which has hitherto been deemed the first to elect delegates. At the same time, a law was passed prohibiting the importation of slaves into the colony, which, notwithstanding the law of 1652, had been done to some extent, and providing for the speedy emancipation of existing slaves.

The news of the battle of Lexington was the signal for a general rising. In May, 1775, three regiments were raised in Rhode Island, by order of the General Assembly. They were called the "Army of Observation," and were enlisted, by the form of their commissions, "into His Majesty's service." They were placed in command of General Nathanael Greene, and were soon on their march to join the grand army near Boston. In June, six additional companies were raised and sent forward to the same point. Upon this subject, Judge Cowell aptly remarks, in his invaluable contribution to the history of our State, entitled "The Spirit of '76 in Rhode Island," "Never had 'His Majesty' an army sooner enlisted *into his service*, than the 'army of observation' of Rhode Island in 1775." But Gov. Wanton was a tory and refused to sign the commissions. A special act of Assembly empowered Henry Ward, Secretary, to sign them, which he did. In October, Gov. Wanton was deposed by formal Resolve of the Assembly, and the office of Governor declared vacant. This was an act of legislative daring, for which no compromise with royalty was provided or expected.

In June, 1775, Rhode Island was the first to equip a naval armament of her own, consisting of two brigs, and increased to four vessels in August; at which time she recommended to Congress, the establishment of a Continental navy. The idea was adopted, and Rhode Island had the chief share in carrying it out. This appears to be the first suggestion of the kind





from any public body. Rhode Island furnished the first Commodore, Esek Hopkins, and the largest number of officers and men for the earliest naval expedition attempted by the colonies, which resulted in the capture of Nassau. She built and equipped the first Continental frigates, by order of Congress, the *Warren* of 32, and the *Providence* of 28 guns, and to her belongs the honor of discharging, upon her own waters, "the first cannon fired in the revolution at any part of His Majesty's navy."

But there yet remained a greater deed for her to perform, one of which very little has been said, but which is the most remarkable, as it was the last important act in the history of the American colonies. On the 4th of May, 1776, Rhode Island formally declared her independence of Great Britain, by a solemn act, abjuring her allegiance to the British crown. No apology need be made for inserting this act in full. It constitutes Rhode Island as the oldest independent State in America.

"An act repealing an act entitled 'An act for the more effectually securing to His Majesty the allegiance of his subjects, in this his colony and dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,' and altering the forms of commissions, of all writs and processes in the Courts, and of the oaths prescribed by law."

"Whereas in all States, existing by compact, protection and allegiance are reciprocal, the latter being only due in consequence of the former; and whereas, George the Third, King of Great Britain, forgetting his dignity, regardless of the compact most solemnly entered into, ratified and confirmed to the inhabitants of this colony, by his illustrious ancestors, and, till of late, fully recognized by him,—and entirely departing from the duties and character of a good King, instead of protecting, is endeavoring to destroy the good people of this Colony, and of all the United Colonies, by sending fleets and armies to America, to confiscate our property, and spread fire, sword and desolation throughout our country, in order to compel us to submit to the most debasing and detestable tyranny; whereby we are obliged by necessity, and it becomes our highest duty, to use every means with which God and nature have furnished us, in support of our invaluable rights and privileges, to oppose that power which is exerted only for our destruction.

"Be it therefore enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that an act entitled 'An act for the more effectually securing to his Majesty the allegiance of his subjects, in this his colony and dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,' be, and the same is hereby repealed."

"And be it further enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, That in all commissions for offices, civil and military, and in all writs and processes in law, whether original, judicial or executory, civil or criminal, wherever the name and authority of the said King is made use of, the same shall be omitted, and in the room thereof, the name and authority of the Governor and Company of this colony shall be substituted, in the following words, to wit: 'The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode



Island and Providence Plantations.' That all such commissions, writs, and processes, shall be otherwise of the same form and tenure as they heretofore were; that the Courts of Law, be no longer entitled nor considered as the King's Courts; and that no instrument in writing, of any nature or kind, whether public or private, shall, in the date thereof, mention the year of the said King's reign; Provided nevertheless, that nothing in this act contained, shall render void or vitiate any commission, writ, process, or instrument heretofore made or executed, on account of the name and authority of the said King being therein inserted."

Then follow the forms of writs, commissions, &c. prescribed under the new order of things.

The records of the Assembly had always closed with the loyal rubric, "God save the King." At the close of this session, the form was changed, and "God save the United Colonies" appears, for the first time, on the archives of the ancient Plantations. Messengers were dispatched in haste to Congress and to all the colonies, to convey the news and urge the nation to decisive action. Two months afterwards, the United States of America claimed a seat in the family of nations. The revolution was at its height.

We cannot follow our gallant soldiers through the trials and perils of that protracted war, in which Rhode Island did more than her part, and suffered more than her share in the common cause. The revolutionary history of Rhode Island would require a volume. It was the last triumphant struggle for the principles of her glorious charter. She had outgrown the scorn and contempt of her early foes, and lived to witness them quietly adopting her example, and ranging themselves under the same banner, which, for nearly a century and a half, she had borne untarnished through many a conflict.

**LEGISLATORS OF RHODE ISLAND.** These were the principles which animated your ancestors, and which are now entrusted to you to perpetuate and defend. The spirit of Rhode Island history, so long as the State maintained her distinct existence, was the spirit of freedom, of justice, of forbearance, and of patriotism. Ever nicely balancing herself between the opposing elements of liberty and law, she first taught the world, that these two elements are essential to each other; that while, without their union, liberty must degenerate to license, and law resolve itself to tyranny, the two combined make up the perfect State,

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp, biting cold that seemed to penetrate my coat. I shivered as I walked towards the building, my hands tucked into my pockets. The air was thick with the scent of old stone and the distant hum of city traffic. I took a deep breath, trying to steady myself as I entered the grand, arched doorway.

The interior was a vast, open space with high ceilings and large windows that let in a soft, golden light. The floor was made of polished stone, reflecting the light in a way that made the room feel even larger. In the center of the room, there was a large, ornate chandelier that hung from the ceiling. The walls were covered in intricate carvings and paintings that depicted various scenes from history. I walked slowly, taking in the details of the architecture and the art. The atmosphere was one of quiet grandeur and timeless beauty.

As I continued to explore the room, I noticed a small, round table in the corner. On it sat a few books and a small vase with flowers. The books were old and worn, their spines cracked and discolored. I picked up one of the books, its cover made of dark leather. The title was written in a cursive script that I couldn't read. I turned the book over, looking at the back cover. There was a small, faded stamp on the back that read "Library of the City of London". I looked up at the ceiling, wondering how long the books had been there. The room felt like a treasure trove of knowledge and history.

I walked towards the back of the room, where the light was softer and the air felt more still. There were more books on shelves, their spines lined up neatly. I reached for one of them, my fingers brushing against the cool leather. The book was heavy, and I could feel the weight of its pages. I opened it, and the scent of old paper filled my nose. The first page was blank, but the second page was filled with handwritten text in a cursive script that I couldn't read. I turned the pages, looking for any clues that might help me understand the book's contents. The room felt like a puzzle, and I was determined to solve it.



and conflicting parts complete the harmonious whole. Hers was a great experiment, and so complete her triumph, that men overlook the humble source, while they observe the widely spread result. They seem to think that these ideas, which all men now admit, have always been, and do not know that to this State alone belongs the honor of their application. It is well that these principles were originated and perfected upon so small a field, where the interchange of thought was not impeded by distance, at a time when footpaths were the only roads, and primeval forests overspread the land. Then the waters of the bay furnished the only highway, and along its shores alone, were scattered the colonists of Rhode Island.

I have said, that we should preserve our individuality as a State. For this, it is not requisite that we should be singular, but only that what we are and have been, should be continued and made known. The time has come when we should no longer be a peculiar people, acting only for or within ourselves. We form a part of one great nation. The influence of our example has extended far beyond our narrow borders, and has already made the American Union one vast Rhode Island in principle and feeling. What we most require, is, that other States should know and bear in mind, whence sprang the seed of all their greatness; that HERE, on this spot, was the hallowed ground, and the fathers of Rhode Island the husbandmen. Then will the State be secure in its distinctive character, and the grave of Williams, like that of Washington, become "the Mecca of the Free."

Civil freedom. Religious liberty. These were kindred plants, from a common stock, that required a virgin soil. Here they were reared, and striking deep their roots, have grown and flourished, till their far-spreading branches overarch a continent, and their dense and vigorous foliage almost conceals the spot where the venerable trunk yet draws its nourishment, and imbibes its moisture from the unfailing waters of the Narragansett.



GREENE—STAPLES—PARSONS.

AN

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Rhode Island Historical Society,

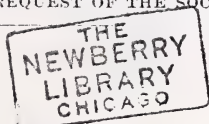
On the Evening of June 1st, 1869,

BY

SAMUEL G. ARNOLD,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.



PROVIDENCE:

HAMMOND, ANGELL & CO., PRINTERS.

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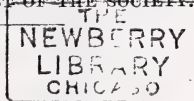
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1911

## A D D R E S S .

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GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY :—

IN conformity with a vote of the Society, passed at the monthly meeting, January 19th, requesting the President, at a future day, to deliver a discourse on the services of the three distinguished members of the Society who died during the year 1868, I have prepared a paper which, with your permission, will now be presented.

It is no easy task to set forth properly the public services or the private characters of men who have so long occupied prominent places in the community, and whose connection with our Society has been so intimate during the whole period of its corporate existence of more than fifty years. Some one of their cotemporaries could better perform this duty—some one whose personal relations with the deceased had been those of longer and closer intimacy than mine were permitted to be; for it is in the season of youth that personal friendships start into life, and men most rapidly acquire that knowledge of each other which, in congenial spirits, cements the ties of life-long intercourse. Of the original corporators and earliest officers of this Society, four\* honored members still survive, upon either of whom this grateful but difficult duty

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\*R. W. Greene, R. J. Arnold, Charles Jackson and Rev. D. Benedict.





might more appropriately have devolved. But, holding the place in our organization first occupied by James Fenner and last by Albert G. Greene, that position and your request oblige me to make the attempt.

The past year is made memorable in the annals of the Society by the inroads of death. Two of our highest officers, the President and Second Vice-President, and one of our oldest and most efficient members,—whose connection with the Society dates nearly from its commencement,—have passed away. It is of these that I am expected more particularly to speak.

On the 3d of January, 1868, Albert Gorton Greene died at the residence of his son-in-law, Rev. Samuel W. Duncan, in Cleveland, Ohio. The cause of his death was a disease of the heart, to which he had for some time been subject. But an hour or two before, he had appeared in his usual health and had walked out on the morning of that day. Mr. Greene was born in Providence, February 10th, 1802, and had nearly completed his sixty-sixth year. He was a direct descendent of Samuel Gorton and John Greene, the founders of Warwick. This alone might account for the lively interest he always took in everything pertaining to the history of the State. The marked peculiarities of its founders were ever an interesting theme of conversation with him. How they differed from each other in their several views of religion and of law, apparently agreeing heartily upon but one point—opposition to the restricted policy of the Puritans—how each struggled to maintain his own ideas of right and to secure their adoption in the legislation of the infant colony,—what bitter feuds sprang up unavoidably in the progress of these intellectual conflicts, and how, gradually, the incongruous mass of political, legal and theological notions shaped themselves into the Parliamentary Charter of 1643, and the famous code adopted under it in 1645; these were subjects upon which his mind was wont to dwell with unflagging interest, and which his retentive memory served to illustrate with pointed anecdote through hours of animated conversation.



Mr. Greene graduated at Brown University, in the class of 1820, and commenced the study of law in the office of the late John Whipple. In 1824, he married Mary Ann, daughter of the late Benjamin Clifford, and sister of Ex-Governor John H. Clifford, of Massachusetts. In 1834, two years after the organization of the city government, Mr. Greene was chosen clerk of the Common Council, which office he held until February, 1867. At the same time he was Clerk of the Municipal Court until 1857, when he resigned, and the next year was elected Judge of that court. This office he held till declining health compelled him to withdraw from it, in March, 1867. In the thirty-three years that he acted as clerk of the Common Council, his ready tact and his gentleness of manner often served to reconcile differences among his associates, while his parliamentary experience and prompt recurrence to precedents were, on many occasions, called into exercise to settle disputed questions and to harmonize debates. Often it happened that the proper work of committees of the Council devolved upon him to perform. In the drafting of ordinances, and especially in the framing of acts novel in their nature and complicated in detail, the experience and the practical mind of the clerk were relied upon to perform the work. This was the case with the famous School bill, upon which rests the whole system of our public instruction. This bill Judge Greene drew at the request of the City Council, entirely from his own brain, without a single analogous law to guide him in framing the complicated statute which has made the public schools of Providence the best in this country. During his long career of over twenty years as Clerk and nearly ten years as Judge of the Municipal Court, all who had business before that tribunal will testify to the clearness of his decisions upon vexed questions of law, and to the strict sense of justice which pervaded his whole conduct.

But it is mainly upon his literary character that his reputation must rest. The love of letters in every form was, with him, a passion. History, Poetry and Art alike claimed his attention and served to occupy his leisure hours. Whatever related to industrial pursuits was no less attractive to his mind





than were the paths of elegant literature, in which he walked as a master. Every process of manufacture, whether of textile fabrics, of the metals, base or precious, of glass or leather, wood or stone, everything useful or ornamental, that enters into the consumption of daily life, from a gauze veil to an iron shovel, had sometime received his attention, and been stored away, ready for instant service, in a memory whose retentiveness was equalled only by the comprehensiveness of its subjects. In this department of knowledge he was a living encyclopædia, and in imparting it to others he did so with a fullness of illustration and a vividness of fancy that clothed the humblest theme with the halo of poetry. In the Fine Arts, a congenial spirit guided a judgment cultivated by extensive reading and by the study of such models in painting and sculpture as the sister art of engraving has brought within the reach of those who have not studied the originals abroad. In the kindred art of architecture his taste was inherited from his father, John H. Greene, an architect of decided talent and large experience, whose finest work is one of the chief ornaments of our city. Whoever will observe the proportions of the First Congregational Church and study its splendid spire,—which has but one rival in our city, and that the most perfect spire in this country,—will readily understand how Judge Greene might inherit a critical taste in all that relates to beauty in architecture.

His library was a vast collection of literary curiosities, in which he aimed at completeness in many departments. The collection of American poetry and of the old English poets and dramatists was unrivalled. The progress of the educational system in the United States might be traced upon his shelves, in the collection of spelling-books, readers and other elementary works, from the first edition of the New England Primer down to the latest text-book in Natural Philosophy. More than 20,000 volumes,—of which about 18,000 were bound volumes and the remainder were pamphlets, many of rare value,—adorned his walls. And he not only collected these ample treasures in the intervals of busy professional life



but he mastered their contents and *knew* what he owned. The conversation of such a man was a treat such as, in our work-day world, is rarely listened to. Shunning general society with feminine timidity, it was only in the presence of personal friends that he could be led to converse with freedom. In the domestic circle alone the charm of his individuality had full sway. It was there that the brilliancy of his fancy, the quaint, peculiar structure of his mind, the richness and variety of his learning, the delicacy of his taste were displayed with the naturalness of childhood and in the simplicity of a spirit in which there was no guile. On such occasions he wielded a fascination that was irresistible, and which seemed to spring with equal force from his moral and his intellectual character.

In 1833, Mr. Greene commenced the publication of the *Literary Journal*, among the earliest—as it was the best—paper of its kind that we have ever seen. There appeared in its columns what was then a new feature in this species of journalism, translations from the best French feuilletons. These were made chiefly by Mr. Bugard, whom many of us will remember as a professor of the French language and literature, then teaching in our city. But the enterprise proved to be premature. The community was too small to sustain a paper of this character. It was an act of faith, or rather a labor of love, which wrought no abiding result and brought no adequate return. At the end of a year it was abandoned, and the urgent solicitations of his friends, often renewed, failed to effect its revival. Judge Greene has been aptly styled “the American poet who published no volume,” and yet there is one poem of his, the production of his youthful days, that is more widely known than any ever written in this country.

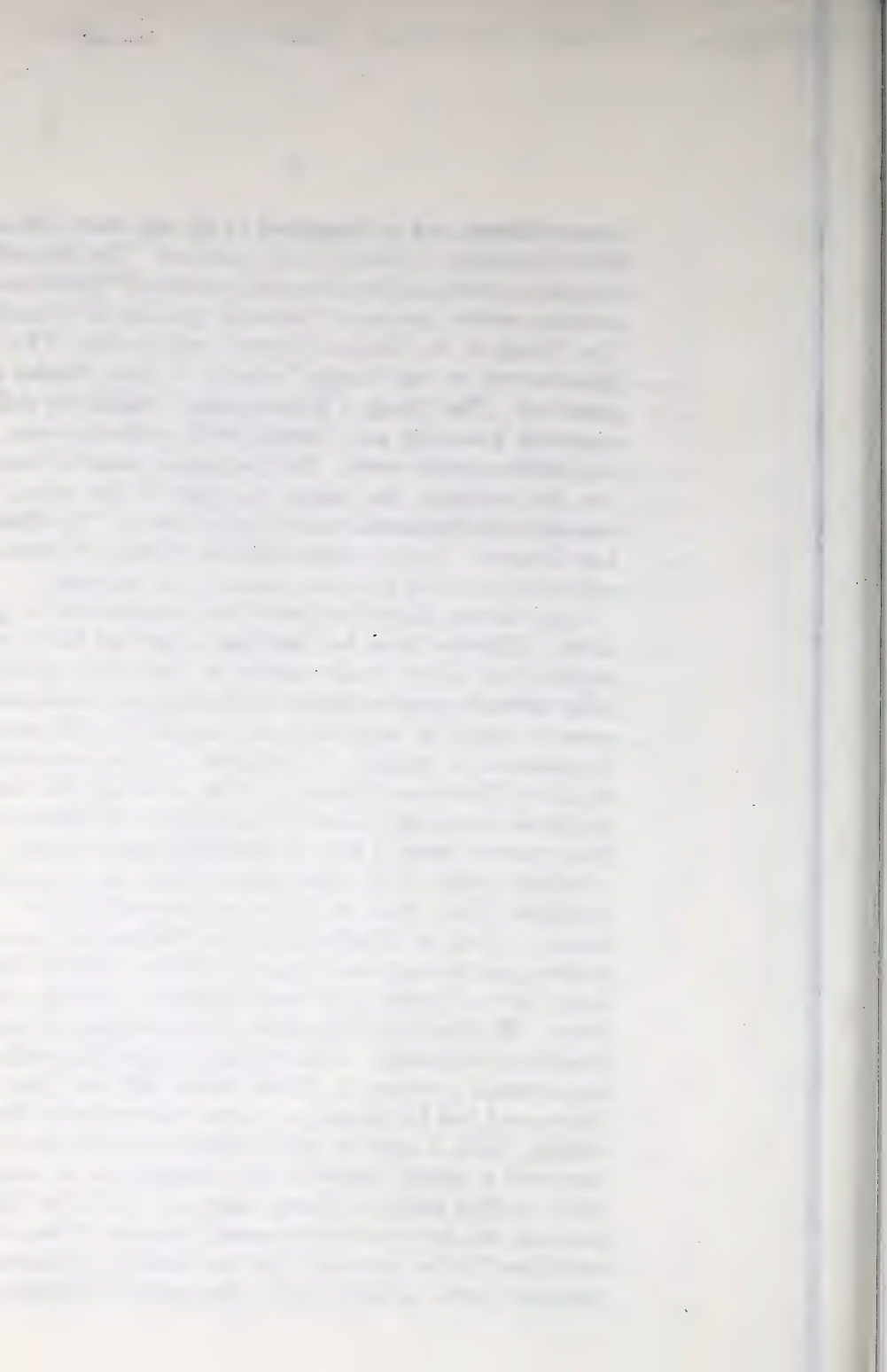
Goldsmith did not more truly touch the popular heart of England in his famous “Elegy on Madam Blaize” than did Greene successfully appeal to the great heart of humanity in the quaint monody of “Old Grimes.” Little dreamt the boy of sixteen, as he threw off, for a college society, the lines that were to make him famous, that, at the close of half a century, that same monody would form the truest epitaph on his





own tombstone, and be recognized by all who knew him as a faithful summary of his own lovely character. Yet the pathos, the quaint humor, and the abounding charity of "Old Grimes," present a perfect picture of the moral qualities of its author. The "Song of the Windmill Spirits" and the lines "To the Weathercock on our Steeple" abound in vivid fancies and genial wit. The "Song of Emancipation" echoes the sigh of oppressed humanity, and foretells, with prophetic vision, the era that has already come. But for graphic power of description, for language that paints the spirit of the scene, and resounds with the martial ring of feudal festival, "The Baron's Last Banquet" rivals the noblest lyrics of Davis or Macaulay, and takes rank with the finest poems in our language.

Judge Greene allowed too few of his productions to be published. Whether from too fastidious a taste he failed to be satisfied with his own performances, or from that inability to judge correctly upon the relative merits of his own works which seems to attend on authorship, (as Campbell could scarcely be persuaded to publish "Hohenlinden" in the same volume with the "Pleasures of Hope,") or from a modesty that denies delight to others lest it should make its *giver* too conspicuous, from whatever cause it may be, the result was the same. An occasional poem in his own paper and four choice pieces in the Rhode Island Book are all that we know of in print. But the duty which he failed to fulfill his children are bound to perform, and we may soon expect a volume that will delight every lover of poetry and every admirer of humor, wit, or fancy. He wrote too little, either for his own fame or for the pleasure of his friends. A busy life, an engrossing profession, the constant pressure of official duties, left him but little leisure, and that he devoted to mental culture rather than to writing. Still, it must be said, that on one side of his nature there was a certain indolence and indisposition to exertion which so often attends a literary taste, and which led him to postpone, to a more convenient season, whatever of brain work could possibly be deferred. On one occasion he allowed an important public address to go unprepared till within a few



hours of the appointed time; another he wholly neglected, and he could never be relied upon with certainty to meet a literary engagement. This defect in his character affected his popularity with many people, but it can weigh but little in the scale of justice beside his many virtues.

We have already stated that Mr. Greene was a direct descendant from the founders of Warwick, and those who believe in ante-natal influences will discover in this fact the source of his historical tastes. These tastes were very decided, and led him to give much time to the interests of this Society. In 1826, he was chosen Cabinet Keeper of the Northern District,—the position of all others the most important, for the life of the Society has always depended upon the efficiency of that officer; the labor has devolved upon him, and he is in fact the Prime Minister, whose ability and zeal sustain the social fabric. This office he held for ten years, becoming also a trustee, and, in 1833, one of the publishing committee, in which capacity he assisted in getting out the second volume of the Society's Publications—Gorton's "Simplicity's Defence," edited by Judge Staples, in April, 1835; and the third volume, Potter's "Early History of Narragansett," in October of the same year; and the fourth volume, Callender's "Century Sermon," edited by Professor Elton, in April, 1838. In 1844, he was elected second Vice-President of the Society, and, after 1850, the advanced age and feeble health of the President compelled the duties of that office to be discharged by him. On the death of the venerable John Howland, in 1854, Judge Greene was elected in his place as President of the Society, and occupied that position till the time of his decease. During the fourteen years of his Presidency, he continued to watch over its interests in his quiet, scholarly way, devoting many hours at a time to the work of classifying and arranging the library, and seeming more inclined to preserve its valuable collections in proper form than to facilitate their publication to the world. The Antiquarian had supplanted the Historian. The restricted means of the Society prevented a revival of its publications

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket I had been sitting under. I looked up at the sky, which was a pale, overcast grey. The air was thick with a damp, wintry feel. I took a deep breath, feeling the cold air fill my lungs. The ground beneath my feet was a mix of wet pavement and patches of snow. In the distance, I could see the silhouettes of buildings and trees, their details softened by the distance and the weather. A few people were walking along the sidewalks, some carrying umbrellas. The overall atmosphere was one of quiet solitude, a typical winter day in a city. I walked slowly, savoring the textures of the air and the ground. The cold was invigorating, a welcome change from the warmth of the car. As I walked, I noticed the way the light reflected off the wet surfaces, creating a shimmering effect. The snow on the ground was uneven, with some areas being more covered than others. The buildings in the background were a mix of old and new architecture, their colors muted by the weather. The trees were bare, their branches reaching out against the grey sky. The overall scene was a study in contrasts, between the cold and the warmth, the wet and the dry, the old and the new. It was a beautiful, if slightly melancholic, sight. I continued to walk, feeling a sense of peace and tranquility. The cold was not oppressive, but comforting. It was a reminder of the season, of the changes that were taking place in the world around me. I walked until I reached the end of the street, where I turned and looked back. The city was still there, but it felt different, more alive. The cold had brought a new energy to the scene, a sense of renewal. I smiled, feeling a sense of accomplishment. I had made it through the cold, and I was still here. The journey was over, but the memory of the cold would stay with me. It was a beautiful experience, one that I would cherish for a long time. The cold was not just a weather condition, it was a feeling, a state of mind. It was a reminder of the beauty of the world, of the changes that were taking place. I walked home, feeling a sense of peace and tranquility. The cold was not oppressive, but comforting. It was a reminder of the season, of the changes that were taking place in the world around me. I walked until I reached the end of the street, where I turned and looked back. The city was still there, but it felt different, more alive. The cold had brought a new energy to the scene, a sense of renewal. I smiled, feeling a sense of accomplishment. I had made it through the cold, and I was still here. The journey was over, but the memory of the cold would stay with me. It was a beautiful experience, one that I would cherish for a long time.



in later years, till the enterprise of the Librarian, in 1867, surmounted that difficulty to some extent, and produced the sixth volume—the only one that had appeared since 1843. Judge Greene was only the third President the Society has had in forty-six years,—Governor Fenner having presided the first eleven years, Mr. Howland twenty-one years, and Mr. Greene fourteen years.

In summing up a life that fell but little short of the allotted span, and which was so full of wisdom and of every grace that adorns humanity, much more should be said than time will permit us to say. We love to contemplate a character like his, and fain would linger while we may, over the grave of ALBERT GORTON GREENE.

“Death loves a shining mark,” and the next victim who claims our notice was a jurist of distinction, a historian of accuracy, a man of many acquirements, but of modest worth, and a Rhode Islander of marked characteristics, such as we sometimes see described in obituaries of the fast vanishing class of gentlemen of the old school.

WILLIAM READ STAPLES was born in Providence, October 10th, 1798, and died October 19th, 1868, having just entered upon his 71st year. He graduated at Brown University in the class of 1817—two of whose members besides himself have borne the highest honors of the State.\* He studied law in the office of Nathaniel Searle, and commenced practice in 1819. In 1821, he married Rebecca M., daughter of the late Nicholas Power, of this city. Within four years he became a widower, and, in 1826, married his cousin, Evelina, daughter of Levi Eaton, of Framingham. In 1832, he was a member of the first City Council, and, for the next two years, a Justice of the Police Court. In June, 1835, he was elected Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and, in November, 1854, became Chief Justice. Ill health compelled him to resign his seat on the bench in March, 1856. His views on the subject of capital punishment prevented his accepting the place of Chief Justice.

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\* Governor Charles Jackson and Lieutenant Governor William Greene.



until the laws of the State on that subject were changed. When the office of State Auditor was created by the General Assembly, in January, 1856, Judge Staples was appointed to fill it, but held it only four months. At the same time he was made Secretary and Treasurer of the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry, and devoted the remainder of his life to that service. In 1862, his Alma Mater conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. His protracted service of twenty-one years upon the bench established a reputation for legal acumen that any jurist might desire, and, for stern integrity, that every man should wish to emulate. He possessed a kindly heart, which warmed toward the whole brotherhood of man. Oppression in any form was revolting to his nature, especially that ecclesiastical pretension which has caused so much misery on earth, and from which Rhode Island suffered so severely in the persons of its founders. On this subject he was at all times eloquent, now searing with caustic wit the arrogance of "state fed theology," and now denouncing with the vigor of an earnest soul the conduct of those with whom "might makes right." Judge Staples was deeply imbued with what,—for want of a better term to express in one word a great many very different things,—we will call RHODE ISLANDISM. The spirit of Rhode Island history presided at his birth. Liberty regulated by law was the basis of his political philosophy. "In God we Hope" was the motto and moving principle of his life. Freedom of conscience—"soul liberty"—was the sheet anchor of his religious faith, for he considered no creed as Christian that was maintained by force, and no truth as vital that could not sustain itself. A man of strong individuality, he held decided views upon whatever subject he investigated. His prejudices were marked, and were admitted by himself, and were defended with a keen logic when assailed. Herein his Scotch descent appeared, and in reference to this trait a friend\* once said of him, in a good-natured way, "he is as full of notions as a

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\* Albert G. Greene.





chestnut burr is of prickles." But Judge Staples's "notions" were, for the most part, solid ideas, having a substantial value, like those material "notions" ascribed to Boston.

Aside from his profession, Judge Staples's chief pursuits were those of antiquarian research and historical study. These were his delight from boyhood to the close of a long and useful life. An old trunk of manuscript papers, in some neglected garret, would yield him a keener pleasure than the miser's hoard of gold. There is probably no man living so competent as he was to explain obscure points in our early history. His connection with this Society dates from its foundation, in 1822. He was one of the incorporators, its first Secretary and Librarian, and Cabinet Keeper for the Northern District, and a member of the first publishing committee, who, in 1827, published the first volume of our Collections—the "Key to the Indian Language." In 1835, his first historical work appeared, under the auspices of this Society, as the second volume of its publications. This was Gorton's "Simplicity's Defence against Seven-Headed Policy," edited by Judge Staples, with copious notes explanatory of the text, and an appendix of original documents referred to therein. This singular work, full of the mysticism of its author, the founder of a religious sect, and a most original thinker, would be almost unintelligible to the modern reader but for the pains-taking spirit of its editor. Between the mystical Gortonist, merging his humanity in the Divine Essence, and the benign Quaker, seeking only to be guided by "the inner light," there was a sufficient similarity of sentiment to awaken in the mind of Judge Staples, whose views resembled those of the Friends, a keen interest in the life, the character, and the teachings of the founder of Warwick. He was thus eminently fitted to edit a work from which we derive most of our knowledge of the religious system of Samuel Gorton. No other man could have done it so well, for few would have patience to read it, and still fewer have that taste for the metaphysics of theology necessary to discover and interpret its meaning. If time allowed, it would be amusing, if not instructive, to cite some



passages from the "Defence," which to a modern reader sound like unmeaning jargon, but which, in their connection, and with the annotations of the accomplished editor, assume intelligible form. The quaint and often obsolete terms employed, the intricate involutions of sentences, the painful elaboration of ideas, are characteristics common to very many of the works of that age; but when to these difficulties there is super-added the greater one of mysticism, the transcendentalism of the 16th and 17th centuries, the ordinary reader is apt to throw down the book in despair, and the antiquarian finds it no easy task to understand it. This was the labor that Judge Staples accomplished in editing Gorton, and we of Rhode Island owe him a debt of gratitude in that he has rescued from oblivion the intellect, if not the memory, of a truly remarkable man.

In 1836, Judge Staples was again elected Librarian and Cabinet Keeper in place of Mr. Greene, and held these offices for six years, resuming also his former position as Secretary. In 1843, he published the "Annals of Providence,"—one edition of which appeared as the fifth volume of the Society's Collections. This work covers a period wanting but four years of two centuries,—from the settlement of the town in 1636 to the organization of the City Government in 1832. It is a book requiring infinite labor, for many of the most knotty problems in our early history are connected with the first thirty years of these annals. Indeed, after the adoption of the Royal Charter, the history of the State becomes comparatively easy to trace, although there still remain many obscure points relating to the town, especially at the time of King Philip's war, when the town was almost abandoned and was partially burned.

Upon all obscure passages Judge Staples has poured a flood of light, by his unwearied pains in searching out, studying, and comparing all the ancient manuscripts upon which he could lay his hands. He was a mouser among old papers. A tavern bill or a sheriff's writ was as important to him—as evidence upon some doubtful point—as a town treasurer's re-





ceipt or an act of the General Assembly. In fact, the destruction of most of the records during the Indian war, and the damage sustained by the remainder from being thrown into the water for safe keeping, at that time, makes it necessary to have recourse to private papers and old family letters and accounts to establish many facts of which, till he substantiated them in this way, tradition was the only evidence. His diligence has preserved the record of many interesting events which, but for him, would have been lost forever. The "Annals of Providence" is indeed a mine of facts and statistics upon almost every subject that has a history, and they are so arranged as to be readily found, even without consulting the index. I cannot convey an adequate idea of the assistance derived from this work in writing the History of the State. There are but two that approach it in value to the historical student—Knowles's *Roger Williams* and Potter's *Narragansett*. Nearly a quarter of a century passed after the "Annals" appeared, during which the Society showed to the outer world no signs of life. The want of a publishing fund was the cause of this stagnation, and to remedy the evil, Judge Staples, and a few other members, attempted to raise by subscription a sufficient sum to enable the Society to print at least one volume a year from its collections; but thus far the labor has been in vain. But the Judge himself was not idle during all this time. In 1845, he compiled a "Documentary History of the Destruction of the Gaspee," which first appeared as a serial in the *Providence Journal*, and was then published in pamphlet form. In 1847—just two hundred years after the meeting of the first General Assembly and adoption of the code of laws under the Parliamentary Charter, he published the *Proceedings and Code*, with brief but valuable comments thereon. Besides these historical works, he prepared, in 1850, a "Collection of Forms," as a guide to persons having to draw up legal papers. This completes the list of his printed works, except the Reports of the Society of which he was Secretary. His last historical labor was a history of the State Convention of 1790 for the adoption of the Federal Constitution. T



was prepared under a vote of the General Assembly. It was completed but a short time before his death, and has not yet been printed.

In concluding this imperfect sketch of the life and services of Judge Staples, mention should be made of his favorite idea in regard to a monumental history of the State. He desired to see appropriate monuments erected to the great names of the past which should preserve their memories to remote generations. In this he included the Indian Sachems as the loyal friends and preservers of the infant colony. He would commence with Miantinomi and Canonicus, for whom he proposed rough granite boulders, typical of the rude and majestic characters of these aboriginal lords of Rhode Island. Then, coming down through successive periods, he would illustrate the colonial, revolutionary and later eras, placing these monuments near the scenes of the exploits they were to commemorate, and so spreading all over the State enduring testimonials of the mighty past. The idea is too good a one to be lost, and should it ever be carried out, it would in itself be a fitting tribute to the genius and the services of WILLIAM READ STAPLES.

It has been said that the kind of calamity which first afflicts an individual in life is an augury of those that were to succeed. This certainly was true of our Society during the past year. The year closed with a loss to the Society similar to that with which it had opened. On the 19th of December, Dr. USHER PARSONS died in the eighty-first year of his age.

Born in Alfred, Maine, August 18th, 1788, his early life was passed in teaching school and studying medicine, until, at the age of twenty-four, the war with Great Britain opened for him a career in which he soon acquired distinction. He received a commission as Surgeon's Mate in the Navy, in July, 1812, and reported for duty at Brooklyn. Having volunteered for service on the lakes, he travelled thither on foot from Albany. He acted as hospital surgeon, and took part in some fighting before the great naval engagement, so dear to every Rhode Islander, which established forever the supremacy of





our flag upon the inland seas. The battle of Lake Erie, fought on the 10th of September, 1813, was the first, and may almost be said to be the only fleet engagement in American history. The British force, under Com. Barclay, comprised six vessels, carrying sixty-three guns. The American squadron consisted of nine vessels, with fifty-four guns. The action commenced about noon, and lasted nearly four hours, resulting in the total defeat of the enemy, with great loss on both sides—one hundred and twenty-three killed and wounded in our fleet, and one hundred and thirty-five in the British; among whom were every commander and second in command, according to Barclay's official report. Of the one hundred and twenty-three American loss, eighty-three were on board the *Lawrence*, Perry's flag-ship, out of one hundred and one who entered the battle, and twenty-five on the *Niagara*, all but three of whom were struck after Perry took command of her, near the close of the action. The other American vessels therefore lost but fifteen. Amid this frightful carnage on the *Lawrence*, where four men out of every five were struck down, Dr. Parsons was the only surgeon in attendance. His professional duties commenced before the battle had fairly begun, while the enemy were firing at long range, and the *Lawrence* had not yet replied with a gun. The cock-pit being at the water line, instead of below it, as is usually the case, the wounded and their attendants were as much exposed to the enemy's fire as when sighting the guns, or otherwise employed on deck. The effect of this was largely to increase the bill of mortality, not a few having been killed outright after being carried below for treatment. The conduct of Captain Jesse D. Eliot, of the *Niagara*, during the fight, was the theme of much animadversion in the fleet. That he was either a coward or a knave, or both, cannot be doubted by any one who examines the evidence. Either he was afraid to bring his ship into action with her allotted antagonist, the *Queen Charlotte*, in which case he was disgraced forever as a coward, or he chose to expose his chief to the combined attack of the two heaviest ships of the enemy, in the hope that he might fall, and that then, con-



into the battle with his own ship fresh and uninjured, he could secure to himself the meed of victory—in which case he was a villain of the deepest dye. Possibly he combined the two most infamous qualities of humanity—physical cowardice, that unsexes manhood, and moral baseness, that consumes its subject with envy, and strikes its victim with the malignity of impotence. His subsequent career, no less than his conduct at this time towards his too magnanimous chief, appears to establish this view; for at a much later date he was suspended for four years by sentence of a court martial upon charges of a disgraceful character. Perry's effort to shield him from the scorn which his conduct on Lake Erie so richly merited, was a mistaken exercise of magnanimity. Nor was it to be the last instance of misdirected generosity on the part of a Rhode Island chief towards his subordinates in an important battle—as the late war proved at Fredericksburg. It may be doubted whether more harm has not been done to the truth of history by such pervisions of noble impulse than by the jealous spirit which withholds credit where it is due. At any rate, the bitter maxim of Rochefoucauld found in Eliot a fresh exemplar, that "it is not so dangerous to do harm to the generality of men as to do them too much good." The contest which grew out of this affair continued for many years, indeed long after most of those who took part in the battle, or sided with either of the chiefs in the quarrel, had gone to their graves. The naval historian of America tarnished his literary fame, and prostituted his powers as a writer, by espousing the cause of the coward in his attack on the character of Perry. He received his reward in a silver medal, inscribed on one side to "The personification of Honor, Truth and Justice," and bearing on the other his own effigy;—and this Society was insulted by having a copy of this medal sent to it by the man who got it up as a tribute of gratitude to the defender of his infamy. The gift was rejected, and the medal returned with appropriate resolutions, by the Society, in September, 1845. This championship of wrong brought a more vigorous writer into the





field. In 1839, a small volume, entitled "Perry and Eliot on Lake Erie," appeared from the caustic pen of Tristram Burges, in which the baseness of Eliot and the sycophancy of Cooper were set forth with a clearness of statement and a keenness of sarcasm characteristic of the eminent author.

In all these discussions Dr. Parsons took a lively interest. He contributed a concise account of the battle in a letter to Mr. Burges, printed in the appendix of that volume, and afterwards, in 1852, he made "The Battle of Lake Erie" the subject of the annual address before this Society, with special reference to the misstatements of Cooper in regard to it. He has done this in a style that leaves nothing to be said upon the points in dispute. His own testimony is direct and incontrovertible. His reply to the assaults of Cooper is comprehensive and complete. A certain irony pervades this portion of the address, which is the appropriate weapon wherewith to treat mendacity of statement when brought to the support of cowardice of conduct and infamy of character. At a later period, in 1858 and 1860, Dr. Parsons, at the request of his fellow-citizens and of the few survivors of the battle, made public addresses upon it at Put-in Bay, near the scene of conflict, and again at Cleveland, Ohio, on the occasion of the dedication of the monument in its commemoration. His first printed work, in 1818, was a surgical account of this battle.

Soon after this action he received his full commission as Surgeon. He took part in the battle off Mackinac, on the 4th of August, 1814, and in December of that year, was ordered to Baltimore to join the *Java*, under Commodore Perry. A long cruise in the Mediterranean gave him his first foreign experience. Returning in 1817, he visited Providence, where he spent three months—then attended medical lectures in Boston, and the next year received, at Hartford, the degree of M. D. In that year he was ordered to the *Guerrière*, Commodore M. Donough, bound to Russia, visited the north of Europe, and on leaves of absence, attended the medical schools of Paris, London and Edinburgh. Upon his return, in 1820, he was stationed as surgeon at the Charlestown navy yard, and then

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published his "Sailor's Physician," a professional work of much merit, designed for popular use among seamen, and which, under the title of "Physician for Ships," assumed in the second edition, has passed through five editions—the latest in 1867.

In April, 1822, resigning his commission in the navy, he came to reside in Providence—formed a partnership with Dr. Levi Wheaton, and, in September, married Mary J., daughter of Rev. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge. She died in June, 1825. Dr. Parsons soon rose to prominence in the civil ranks of his profession. His innate love for the science and his large experience were guarantees of the eminence which he soon attained. He was Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at Dartmouth in 1820–22, and at Brown University in 1823–7; also of Obstetrics in Jefferson College, Philadelphia, in 1831–2, and was President of the Rhode Island Medical Society, 1837–40. He wrote largely upon subjects connected with his profession. His interest in historical matters was, at all times, active although it was not till in his later life that this interest was developed in his writings. In 1825, he became a member of this Society, and was a very regular attendant upon its meetings. His earliest historical publication was the annual address, before mentioned, in 1852. His love for genealogical research had employed his leisure for many years in tracing the lineage of his ancestors. In the course of these investigations, he collected a mass of documents relating to Sir William Pepperill, from whose sister he was a direct descendant, and this led him to write his most important work, the "Life of Sir William Pepperill," published in 1855.

This work is a very important contribution to our colonial history. The conqueror of Louisburg was one of the foremost men that America has produced. A merchant of vast wealth, whose landed possessions alone extended for thirty miles from the Piscataqua to Saco, acquired by his own skill and industry; a soldier whose genius was attested by success in capturing the stronghold of France from its powerful defenders; a civilian whose talents were everywhere admitted to be of the highest





order. Sir William Pepperill was the only native of New England who was created a baronet during our colonial period. The éclat of the war of Independence has dimmed the fame of the great names of ante-revolutionary days, and whoever aids to rescue from oblivion the achievements and the characters of the mighty men of the past confers a favor upon humanity, and adds an enduring page to the volume of history. This Dr. Parsons has done in the memoir of his illustrious ancestor. The wars with France for the dominion of America are among the most important events in the annals of time, whether viewed in their results, or as exhibitions of the highest qualities of humanity. The capture of Louisburg, in 1745, involving the conquest of Canada, and the "old French war," commenced in 1755, for the possession of the Ohio valley, and closing with the annihilation of the French power on this continent in the peace of 1763, formed the stern school of military discipline in which the colonists learned the lesson of independence. The same "drums that beat at Louisburg and thundered at Quebec" soon after rolled the charge on Bunker Hill and marshalled the last army at Yorktown. To revive the memory of these school days of the Republic, and to bring before us the men who led in that era of our national pupilage, and who formed the mind and trained the muscle of the growing State, is a pious duty which Dr. Parsons has well performed. The bounding energies of our people look ever onward and rarely turn back to gather wisdom or to seek inspiration from the past. It is well, then, that such a book as this should be written to remind us of the sources whence our greatness sprang and of the trials through which it was reared.

His next work combined the professional with the historical taste; being a series of "Sketches of Rhode Island Physicians" published in 1859. His antiquarian zeal led him to study the history and examine the remains of the Indians, especially in this vicinity. He collected many relics, and, in 1861, his last printed work embodied some results of his investigations in the form of a list comprising several hundred Indian names of localities in Rhode Island. Probably no man now living



has so complete a knowledge of Indian traditions and history, or is so competent to interpret their meaning, as was Dr. Parsons. In his later years he retired from practice and devoted his time to these favorite pursuits; often making long journeys, even beyond the Mississippi river, always returning with some new discovery in Indian lore, and some vivid impressions of the growing greatness of our country. He was a man in whom the love of country was strongly marked, and whose fidelity to the flag never faltered in the darkest hour. His was a genial temperament and a kindly heart, with much of the jovial spirit of the seas in his hours of relaxation. We miss his familiar form in these seats at our stated meetings, and we miss his cordial greeting and his honest smile in the daily intercourse of life; for there are few families in this city where he was not a welcome guest, and where, during his long residence of nearly half a century among us, his name had not become as a household word. Loved in life and honored in death, his memory will be revered by all who value those high qualities of manhood which were united in his character.

GREENE, STAPLES, PARSONS—three names in literature, law and medicine which it becomes this Society to hold in honor. Here they met on the common ground of historical research. The Poet, the Jurist and the Surgeon, each eminent in his own department, found a mutual bond within these rooms, and here followed together that profoundest of all studies, when properly pursued, which instructs the future by lessons from the past, and has been tersely termed, by the wisest of British legists, "Philosophy teaching by example."

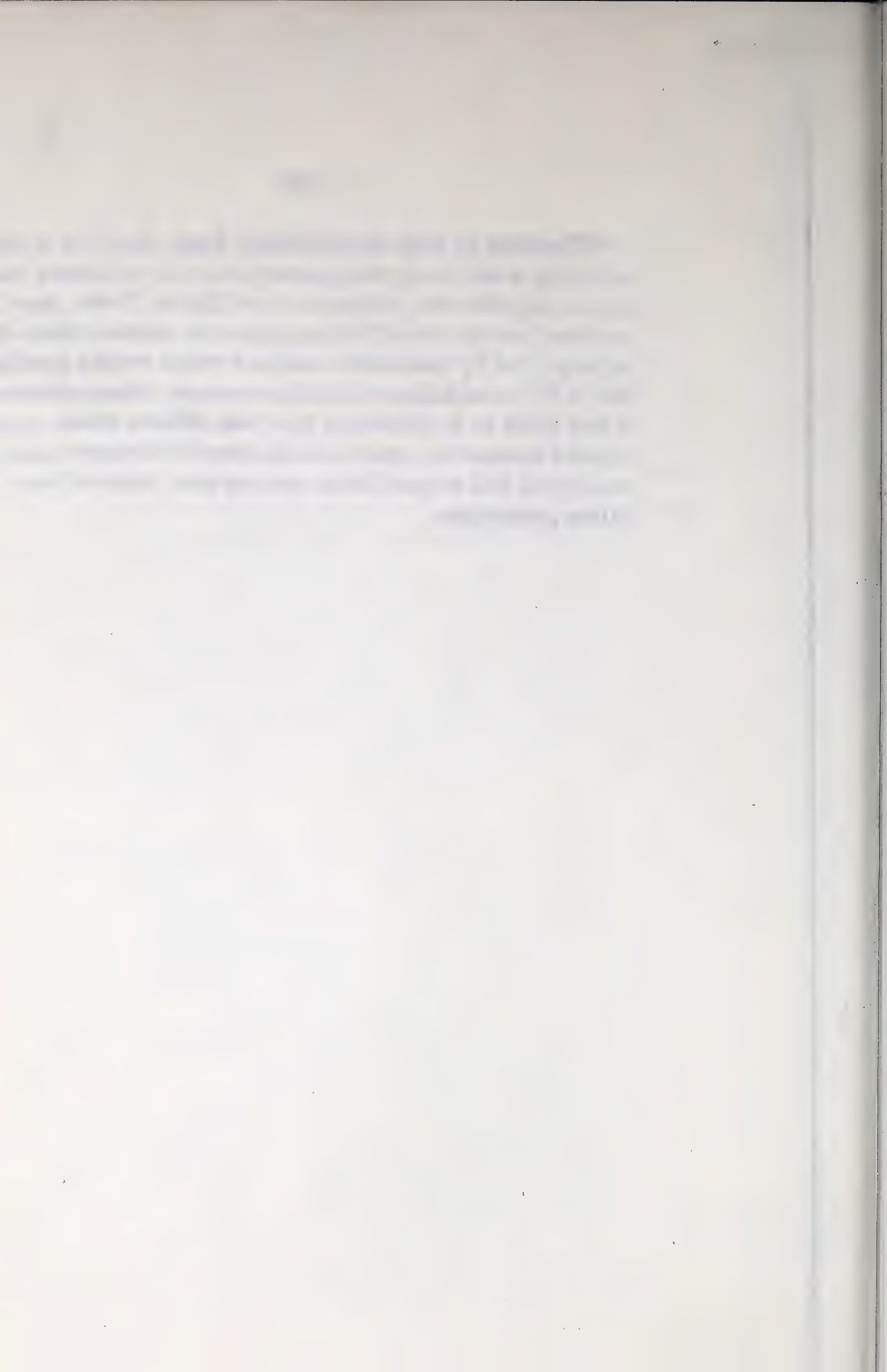
Each contributed largely, as editor or author, to the fund whence men draw wisdom, and each leaves behind him a name that may not be lightly spoken among the benefactors of the race. It is not accorded to every man, however endowed by nature with mind and will, to

———"leave behind him,  
Footprints on the sands of Time."





"Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them" is a stern ordeal by which to try the greater portion of the human race. Let us hope that the judgment of a Higher Power may be rendered, not by the fallible sign given to mortals wherewith to judge, but by that milder standard which weighs possibilities in the same balance with achievements. But to these men it *was* given to do something for their fellows which would survive themselves ; and to this Society it belongs to preserve their work and to guard their memory as a precious boon for future generations.



A HALF CENTURY MEMORIAL.

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AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Rhode Island Historical Society,

AT ITS

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY, JULY 19, 1872,

By ZACHARIAH ALLEN,

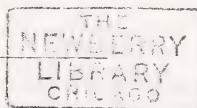
AND

A POEM

DELIVERED ON THE SAME OCCASION

By HENRY C. WHITAKER;

TOGETHER WITH OTHER PROCEEDINGS.



PROVIDENCE:

PROVIDENCE PRESS COMPANY, PRINTERS TO THE STATE.

1873.





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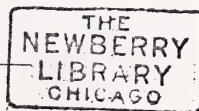
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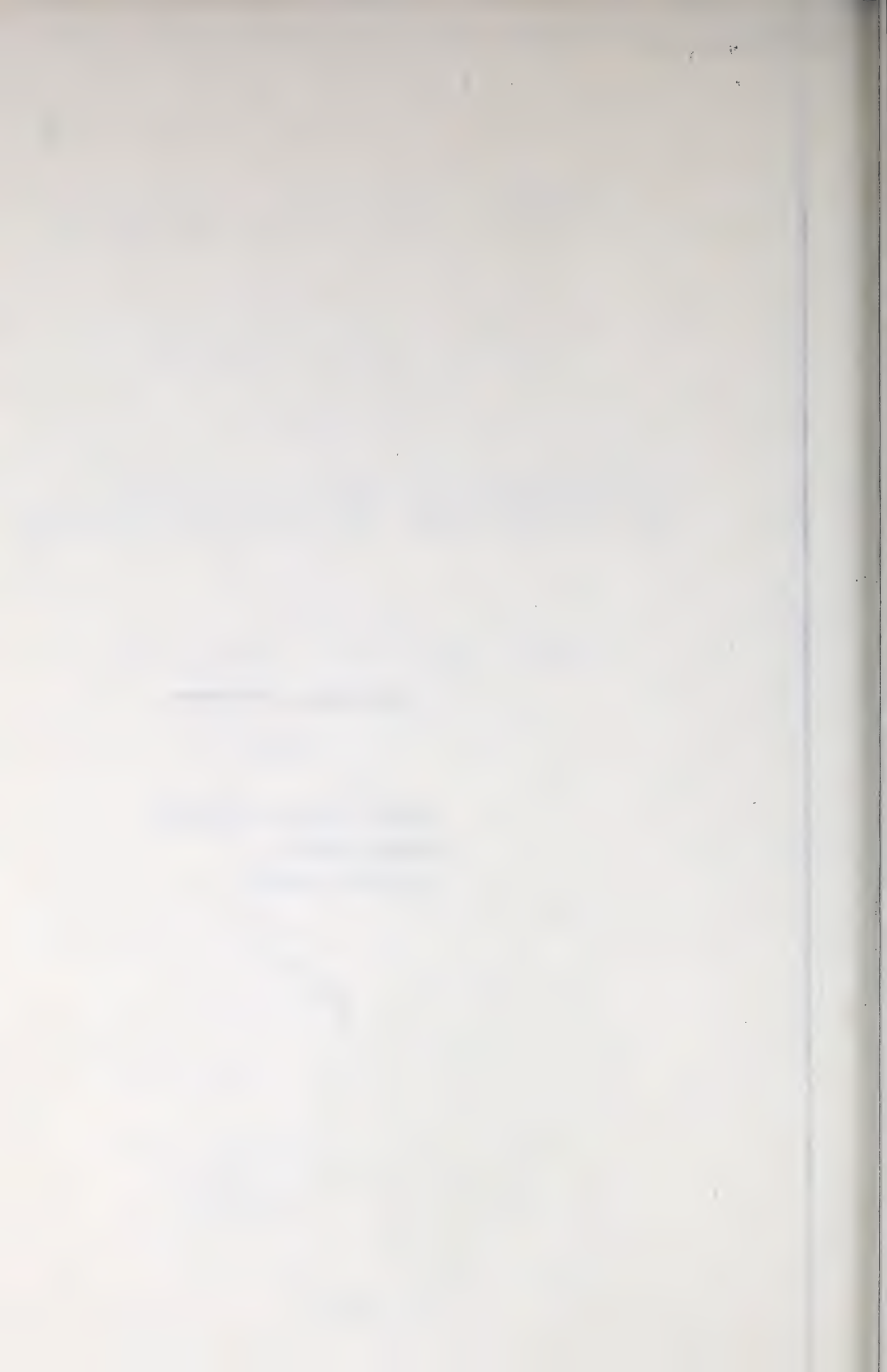
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*Committee on Publication.*

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JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.  
AMOS PERRY,  
J. LEWIS DIMAN.

3426





## SEMI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

OF THE

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

July 19, 1872.

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Under the direction of a Committee of Arrangements, consisting of Samuel G. Arnold, Zachariah Allen, Edwin M. Stone, Henry T. Beckwith, William Staples and Richmond P. Everett, the Society commemorated its "Golden Wedding," or the fiftieth year since it was organized, on Friday evening, July 19, in the Armory of the Marine Artillery, which was kindly opened for the occasion. The room was conveniently arranged for the members and invited guests, including a considerable number of ladies, all of whom manifested a warm interest in an event, around which gathered many pleasant memories. The President of the Society, Hon. Samuel G. Arnold, being absent in Europe, Professor J. Lewis Diman, D. D., of Brown University, was called to preside. On taking the chair he in substance said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and Ladies and Gentlemen, our honored guests:

The occasion which has drawn us together this evening is one of no common interest. We are assembled to celebrate



the half century anniversary of a Society founded by men now, with four exceptions, numbered with the honored dead, and whose business it has been to explore the obscure sources of Rhode Island history, and to gather up such isolated facts as serve to illustrate the cause of her settlement, the spirit and genius of her founder, the social life of her population, the free atmosphere of her civil and religious institutions, and the energy that has developed her commercial and manufacturing capabilities. How successfully this Society has pursued these lines of investigation, and what results it has communicated to the public, you will doubtless learn from the gentleman who is soon to address you.

The fifty years of this Society's existence cover a period marked by extraordinary changes in both the old and the new world. In Europe monarchies have been shaken by the power of the popular will, freer ideas of personal rights have prevailed, and a better method of adjusting national disputes than by a resort to arms has been accepted. In our own country a record scarcely, if at all, less remarkable has been made. Art, science, literature, and the institutions of popular education, have been constantly advancing to more perfect conditions, the material resources of the country have been as constantly opening up and revealing mines of wealth that task mathematical computation to its utmost power. The peculiar institution, which, from the day of our nation's birth until a recent date, has proved an apple of discord among us, has passed away, and after a mighty intestine conflict, the possibilities of our Union under a vindicated constitution, have been determined and settled. In all that is improving Rhode Island has shared; and though limited in territory, her intelligence, industry, and skill, have kept pace with sister States, and won for her an honorable position in the national family.

But, ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to detain you by extended remarks. Requested in the absence of the President of this Society to preside over the deliberations of the





hour, I shall call upon gentlemen to address you, to whose remarks I am sure you will find pleasure in listening. Without further preliminary, I have the honor of inviting your attention to the anniversary address, which will now be delivered by the First Vice-President, Hon. Zachariah Allen.

ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS, BY HON. Z. ALLEN.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—The members of the Rhode Island Historical Society have deemed the fiftieth anniversary of their original union together to be an appropriate occasion for celebration, like a happy golden wedding. At this era in the life of the Society, it is pleasant and profitable to pause for taking a retrospective glance at what has been done by the members, to inspire fresh zeal for accomplishing more.

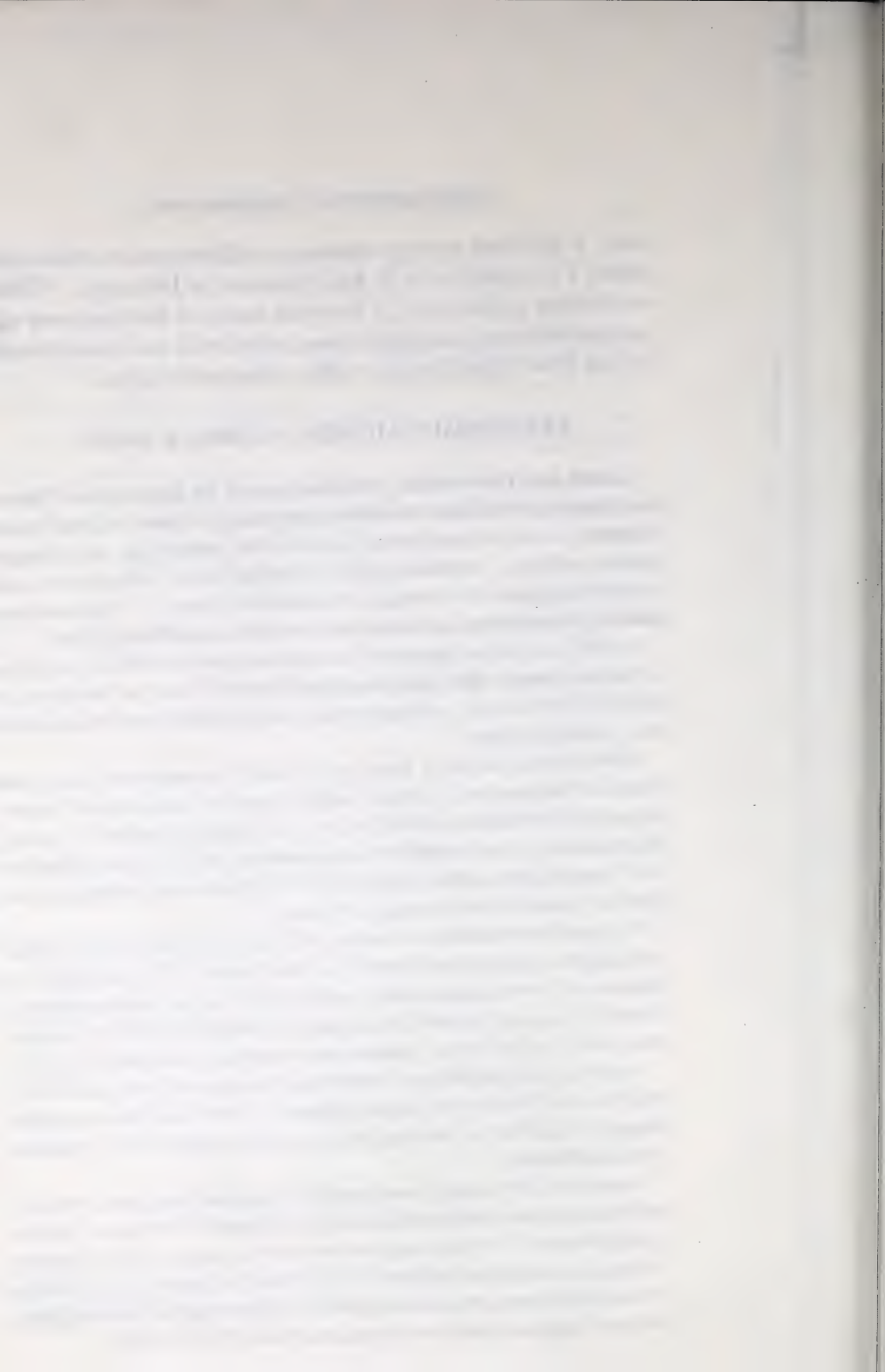
So brief and formal have been the quarterly and occasional meetings of the members in their modest edifice, that the idea has occurred to hold for once a more social gathering around a festal board, to celebrate this interesting event.

So secludedly, too, have been accomplished the unobtrusive and quiet labors of the members, that the people around us seem almost unconscious that this Society actively exists; and that it is engaged in taking their portraits to be handed down to posterity; that they are themselves the living subjects on the stage of life, whose words and actions are destined to be recorded on the pages of history.

It is hoped that this festive meeting will leave the record of a bright and cheerful page in the biography of the Society. We anticipate the pleasure of hearing, this evening, oral narratives of interesting events of former times, and cheerful anecdotes of distinguished fellow-citizens, who deserve to be held in remembrance after they have passed away.

A more formal preliminary statement of the labors of the members of the Historical Society will be first expected, to vindicate them from the charge of inactivity in carrying out the original design of the formation of this institution.

During the half century now past, the members have been industriously engaged in collecting and storing up historical documents relating to the advent of the early emigrants to the bleak shores of New England; to their early struggles for sustaining a physical existence amid wild forests and wild men; but more especially to their struggles for establishing civil and religious liberty on the shores of the "New World."



Small as is the domain of the original Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, yet within its restricted borders was originated, and sustained successfully, a novel and most beneficent system of popular government, founded on the constitutional basis of the separation of Church and State; which has proved one of the most important achievements recorded in the history of human civilization.

In the spirit awakened by considerations like these, the Board of Trustees in one of their earliest reports say:—

“An ample field is before us. The topography, antiquities, and natural, civil and ecclesiastical history of this State, small as are its geographical extent and population in comparison with those of other States, are highly worthy of our attention, and fraught with the means of instruction, whether in moral or in physical science. It was here that in modern times the experiment was made on the possibility of leaving all matters of religious concern, whether of faith or worship, to be determined by the conscience of each individual, without the interference of the magistrate. Each content with the liberty of enjoying his own faith, consented to relinquish the authority of imposing it on his neighbor. It was here, in fine, that religion first ceased to be a state engine, and that no man should become a minister of religion with the view of advancing thereby his worldly plans of avarice or ambition. Were our history as to all other matters a blank of uninteresting events, this experiment in religion would, alone, be sufficient to give it dignity in the eyes of mankind. It was reserved for the founders and lawgivers of this little community, severed as they were from the society of other polished and civilized communities, to teach the world that had groaned for ages in the fetters of bigotry—that had writhed for ages under the lash of fanaticism,—that the communion between man and his Maker is a concern that cannot be subjected to the cognizance of law,—that the State can better preserve its own existence and the exercise of all its proper functions, by leaving this holy communion free, and that such a free enjoyment of religion is promotive of the good order and happiness of society. But our lawgivers did not stop at the point of toleration. Their experiment inculcates further that State religions and creeds are inconsistent with the temporal interests of mankind, inasmuch as they confer a monopoly of the employments of the State on those who the least, deserve them, or on the hypocritical, who will subscribe to any creed, and kneel at any altar, which can best subserve their own temporal views.”

The persecutions inflicted by the early Puritans of Massachusetts on





their brethren of different religious creeds, now appear to have been necessary, historically considered, for arousing the sufferers to take effectual measures for preventing the further repetition of such cruel wrongs: The history of the original settlement of Rhode Island proves the truthfulness of the maxim, that the most beneficent results of human progress are brought about by reactions in resistance of intolerable wrongs and injustice.

This very remarkable historical fact is demonstrated by the extreme culminating extension of the religious persecutions just referred to; which was the continuations of the bloody zeal engendered in the early ages of christianity, and which once generally prevailed, like the similar wrongs and injustice of human slavery.

Under favorable circumstances, happily for the world, "Soul Liberty" was first established as a constitutional basis of civil government, by the exiles from Massachusetts, as the only effectual safeguard against any further recurrence of religious despotism in Rhode Island.

On the territory we now occupy was first accomplished,—to use the quaint words of the founder of this State,—“the lively experiment, to show that civil liberty may be most successfully established, and best be maintained, with a perfect freedom of opinion in all religious concerns.”

While we reap the lasting benefits resulting from the religious persecutions of the Puritans of Massachusetts, we may, as has been intimated, now look back on their actions in whipping, hanging, and banishing fellow men, to enforce religious thralldom, as the culminating extreme of ecclesiastical tyranny, indispensibly requisite to excite the reaction which abolished it forever.

We of the present generation may ask of posterity a similar lenient consideration of our instrumentality in enforcing the civil thralldom of slavery, until this extreme culminating point was attained, when this form of civil tyranny became so intolerable, that self-preservation produced the final reaction as “a military necessity,” and the result of the proclamation of perpetual freedom throughout the land..

These historical facts teach the sad truth, that human progress is involuntarily forced forward by circumstances, and for self-preservation from intolerable evils, rather than prompted by the kindly dictates of christian-like beneficence.

In my passing allusion to the founder of our State, you will of course infer that I designed to include him among the number who suffered per-



secution for conscience sake. The inference is correct. I meant to be so understood. Yet, in speaking as I have of the persecutions of those early days in New England history, I would not be understood as expressing an indiscriminate censure. It is not by any means to be assumed that the ostracism of Williams was an act that represented the spirit or wishes of the great body of the people. There were many among them who disapproved the deed, but through intimidation, looked on in sad silence. Power was in the hands of "Magistrates and Elders" who were jealous of the prerogatives claimed for Church and State; and dissent they treated as a crime. In this view Williams was a dissenter. He believed not merely in religious toleration, granted by the civil authorities as a favor, but in an untrammelled freedom of conscience in matters of religion. He held that they had no jurisdiction here, and denied their right to punish a man for his religious opinions. When, therefore, he saw the civil and ecclesiastical powers combining to repress, by fines, imprisonments and scourgings, the free utterance of religious thought, he protested against the measures pursued, and consistently counseled his church to withdraw fellowship from all churches countenancing such an oppression.

Of the opposing clergy, the celebrated Rev. John Cotton, associate pastor with Rev. Mr. Wilson, of the First Church in Boston, was one of the most conspicuous and influential. Mr. Williams says that "some gentlemen who consented to the sentence against me, solemnly testified with tears, that they did it by the advice and counsel of Mr. Cotton." Mr. Cotton had been in friendly relations with him, but appears to have yielded to the pressure of the times, and approved the sentence as "righteous in the eyes of God;" though in a letter addressed to Mr. Williams and published in London in 1643, he denies that he had hastened forward the sentence of civil banishment. He also says: "what was done by the Magistrates, in that kinde, was neither done by my counsell nor consent." He does not, however, deny that he gave the advice as stated by Mr. Williams, but assumes the ground that if he "had counsellled one or two to it, [i. e. to consent to the banishment,] it would not argue that the act of the Magistrates and of the Deputies, (which is the body of the Court) had been done by his counsel or consent." This would be regarded in our times as sophistical reasoning, an endeavor to escape from an untenable position, without acknowledging its weakness; and when he recalled his own narrow escape from censure and its consequences for having maintained exceptionable though honest opinions





touching civil matters, besides being made the "stalking horse" of vagaries in religion, he must have felt more keenly than he was willing to admit, the arguments of his opponent, touching the "monstrous paradox that God's children should persecute God's children, and that they who hope to live eternally together with Christ Jesus in the heavens, should not suffer each other to live in this common air together."\* The truth was, that in this controversy Mr. Cotton "found an antagonist whose weapons were powerful, and whose cause was good; while he himself unhappily advocated a cause which he had once opposed, when suffering persecution in England."†

But though the spirit which led to the banishment of Williams was stimulated by some of the Rulers, who found supporters in some of the clergy, it is a fact worthy to be remembered they did not carry all the influential in the Bay Colony with them. There were many who looked upon the harsh proceedings with sorrow, though they were powerless to prevent them. Among those in high social and official positions, whose friendship the forced departure of Williams never cooled, were the noble Winthrop, by whose timely private warning the former escaped transportation to England,—Endicott, Leverett, Bellingham, Sir Henry Vane, and Rev. Samuel Hubbard. Out of the Bay Colony may also be mentioned, as undeviating friends, Bradford, Prince, and the two Winslows,‡ of Plymouth, and the younger Winthrop, of Connecticut.

The celebrated Rev. Cotton Mather, who cannot be accused of being an admirer of Williams, having stigmatized him as an "incendiary," and "a preacher that had less *light* than *fire* in him," had nevertheless the candor to say of him: "It was more than forty years after his exile that he lived here, [Providence,] and in many things acquitted himself so laudably, that many judicious persons judged him to have had 'the root of the matter' in him, during the long winter of his retirement. He used many commendable endeavors to christianize the Indians in his neighborhood, of whose language, tempers, and manners he printed a

\* "Mr. Cotton's Letter Lately Printed, Examined and Answered." London, 1644.

† Allen's Am. Biog. Dic.

‡ Mr. Williams in a letter to Major Mason, dated June 22, 1670, describing the privations and heavy losses to which he had been subjected, consequent upon his banishment, speaks thus of the kindness of his thoughtful-Plymouth friend: "It pleased the Father of spirits to touch many hearts, dear to him, with some relentings; amongst which, that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and kindly visited me, at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife, for our supply"—Knowles, p. 395.



little relation with observations, wherein he *spiritualizes* the *curiosities* with two and thirty chapters, whereof he entertains his reader. There was a good correspondence always held between him and many worthy and pious people in the Colony from whence he had been banished, though his retaining still so many of his dangerous principles kept the government, unto whose favor some of the English Nobility had by letters recommended him, from taking off the sentence of his banishment.\* He also speaks approvingly of the services of Mr. Williams in extinguishing "some further disturbances of the country" which affected the quiet and comfort of both Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

It may not be out of place to mention more in detail in this connection, the fact alluded to by Mather, known, of course, to all careful readers of Rhode Island history, but which repeated here, furnishes an appropriate sequel to what has already been related of Mr. Williams. In 1644 he returned from England, having accomplished the purpose for which he visited that country. On the 17th of September he landed in Boston, a deed of seeming temerity, since the ban of banishment was still in force. But he was the bearer of a document which removed all ground for interpreting his presence as an act of defiance. It was a letter addressed "To the Right Worshipful the Governor and Assistants, and the rest of our worthy friends in the plantation of Massachusetts Bay, in New England," and signed by "divers lords and others of the Parliament," expressive of regard for Mr. Williams, and of sorrow that feelings of "distance" should exist between him and the authorities of the Bay Colony, and counseling the cultivation of more friendly relations. They say:—

"Taking notice, some of us long time, of Mr. Roger Williams his good affections and conscience and his suffering by our common enemies and oppressors of God's people, the prelates, as also of his great industry and travall in his printed Indian labors in your parts, the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America, and in which respect it hath pleased both houses of parliament freely to grant unto him and friends with him a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode: and withal sorrowfully resenting that amongst good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony of each other, as we observe you do of him, and he abundantly of you, there should be such a distance; we thought it fit, upon divers considerations, to profess

\* Magnalia ii. 499.





our great desires of both your utmost endeavors of nearer closing, and of ready expressing of those good affections, which we perceive you bear to each other, in the actual performance of all friendly offices; \* \* \* \* that however it may please the Most High to shake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshing to you true and faithful friends."

The most that Mr. Williams realized as the immediate effect of this friendly letter, was an unmolested return to Providence, where he was received with a warmth of expression and show of respect, honorable to the people and gratifying to him. The feelings of the "Governor and Magistrates of the Massachusetts" towards the exile appear to have remained unchanged.

The friendship of the Winthrops, father and son, for Mr. Williams, has already been mentioned. How warm and firm were their mutual attachments may be seen by examining the letters of the latter, which, fortunately, have been preserved. What more affectionate than this closing sentence of a letter to the elder Winthrop, under date 1645: "Sir, (excepting the matters of my soul and conscience to God, the Father of Spirits,) you have not a truer friend and servant to your worthy person and yours, nor to the peace and welfare of the whole country, than the most despised and most unworthy Roger Williams:"\* Or what more hearty and appreciative than this to Winthrop the younger: "Your great trial, loss, and hindrance, I am exceedingly grieved at, and cordially wish it were in my hand to contribute to your abundant satisfaction and reparation. I have taken willingly any pains about it, and shall; and beg of God himself to please to make up these gaps and breaches, with the teachings and comfortings of his Eternal Spirit. \* \* \* \* Sir, I have heard that you have been in late consultations, *semper idem, semper pacificus* and I hope therein *beatus*. You have always been noted for tenderness toward men's souls, especially for conscience sake to God. You

\* On "the 22 of 3d mon," 1638, Mr. Williams wrote to Governor Winthrop, who had been sick: "You have many an eye (I presume) lift up to the hills of mercy for you: mine might seem superfluous: yet privately and publicly you have not been forgotten, and I hope shall not while these eyes have sight."—*Winthrop Papers*, p. 244.

In a letter to Mr. Williams, Governor Winthrop (the elder) says, "We have often tried your patience, but could never conquer it."—*Proceed. Mass. Hist. Soc.* 1855-58 p. 314.

In a postscript to a letter from Williams to Governor Leverett, "14 Jan. 75 (so called)," he says, "I pray you present my humble respects to the Governor Winthrop, and my thanks for his loving letters, to which I cannot now make any return."—*Winthrop Papers*, p. 311.



have been noted for tenderness toward the bodies and infirmities of poor mortals. You have been tender to, toward the estates of men in your civil steerage of government, and toward the peace of the land, yea of the wild savages." Nor is the following from the younger Winthrop to Williams, less appreciative and graceful:

"I was very glad of your late letter, and to see thereby that the winter of your age hath yet warm affections for your old friends; and if your head be growne white, as I find in your riddle, yet there is much more candor in the heart, and brighter than that snow which covers the hills.

"We must all despair of the spring of youth again as to this world, yet we know there will be an eternal spring without succeeding winter, a perpetual flourishing verdure, and houses not made with hands eternal in the heavens, without decay: but though its the ordinary appointment of the Almighty that age should decline without return of renewed strength and vigor, yet sometimes He lets us see His mighty power over nature itself and all His creatures, and giving a real renovation to some men, as well as to the eagles, whose youth is ever renewed."\*

But it was not by the eminent who had independence enough to express their feelings that Williams was alone esteemed. Dr. Bentley says that in Salem, where best known, he was universally loved. He had no personal enemies among the common people, and all valued his friendship. In future years he will be better understood than he was in his own day. One hundred and ninety years have passed since death released him from mortal cares, and his remains were buried on his own land "with all the solemnity the Colony was able to show;"† but his principles, to adopt the words of one of his biographers, "survive, and are destined to spread over the earth. The State which he founded is his monument. Her sons, when asked for a record of Roger Williams, may point to her history unstained by a single act of persecution;—to her prosperity, her perfect freedom, her tranquil happiness; and may reply in the spirit of the epitaph on the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, in St. Paul's Cathedral, '*look round!*'"

*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice."*‡

\* Winthrop Papers, Mass. Hist. Col. vi. 267, 287, 529, New Series.

† In March, 1859, the dust of Mr. Williams and of his wife was exhumed under the supervision of Mr. Stephen Randall, of North Providence, a lineal descendant of the founder of our State, and was deposited in a tomb in the North Burial Ground. Mr. Randall has been the foundation of a fund for the erection of a monument to the memory of Mr. Williams such as shall be worthy of his fame. The Historical Society is indebted to him for many acceptable services.

‡ Knowles, p. 389.





In the two hundred and forty-seven years since the aboriginal proprietors of Mooshasuck greeted Williams and his little band of outcasts as they approached the western shore of the beautiful Séeconk, with "*What-Cheer, Netop*," great changes have taken place in popular opinions, and great advances have been made in ideas of religious freedom. Throughout New England the relations once held between Church and State no longer exist. No where in our land does the civil law claim the right to inflict penalties upon men for the utterance of unpopular religious opinions, or to hold them amenable for the propagation of such opinions, if thereby they commit no breach of the peace. The power that made victims of Obadiah Holmes, Hanserd Knolles, John Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, and Mary Dyer, has forever fled. Every man is now permitted to worship God or not, according to the dictates of his own conscience, without molestation; and all sects, whatever may be their religious creeds, are equal before the law, enjoying common immunities.

We need refer, then, to the past only as an admonition for the future. We should not hold a community responsible for follies committed within its borders two centuries ago. Let the dead past bury its dead, and let no unauthorized prejudices, like foul miasma, exhale from their graves. While we speak frankly and in a kindly spirit of each other's faults, let the memory of a common ancestry, and an identity of interests as members of a great national family, ever be a bond of sympathy between us and the descendants of the people from among whom came our own cherished chief. And may the good fellowship that united John Winthrop and Roger Williams in the ownership of "*Prudence*," which as a gem adorns the bosom of our own Narragansett, be to the end of time, an emblem of the fraternity existing between Boston and Providence, of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

The great principles of self-government have been so remarkably developed in our little State, that this special notice of them is a part of the duty of our Historical Society.

To promulgate these historical facts and important acts of our forefathers, has been a gratifying labor in the republication of numerous documents, and ancient accounts of the lives and labors of the early settlers of New England. The Rhode Island Historical Society have always freely opened the doors of their Cabinet to all who have sought for the treasures of antiquity they contain.

The first republication made under the auspices of the Historical Soci-

The first of these is the fact that the medical profession is not a homogeneous body. It is composed of many different groups, each with its own interests and objectives. The second is the fact that the medical profession is not a monopoly. There are many other groups, such as the pharmaceutical industry, the medical equipment industry, and the medical insurance industry, which also have a stake in the medical profession. The third is the fact that the medical profession is not a self-regulating body. It is subject to the same laws and regulations as any other profession. The fourth is the fact that the medical profession is not a public service. It is a private industry, and its primary concern is the profit of its members. The fifth is the fact that the medical profession is not a social service. It is a business, and its primary concern is the satisfaction of its customers. The sixth is the fact that the medical profession is not a public utility. It is a business, and its primary concern is the profit of its members. The seventh is the fact that the medical profession is not a public good. It is a business, and its primary concern is the profit of its members. The eighth is the fact that the medical profession is not a public resource. It is a business, and its primary concern is the profit of its members. The ninth is the fact that the medical profession is not a public asset. It is a business, and its primary concern is the profit of its members. The tenth is the fact that the medical profession is not a public liability. It is a business, and its primary concern is the profit of its members.

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ety was the work written by Roger Williams, entitled: "A Key to the Language of America." This interesting and instructive account of the customs and habits, as well as of the languages, of the native Indians, had been nearly lost sight of. Only two or three copies were known to exist. The reprint of this work in Providence in 1827, was made from a manuscript copy procured from the shelves of the Bodley library of the Oxford University in England. The manuscript copy from which "The Key to the Languages of America," was reprinted in Providence, was written by a daughter of the Librarian, the Rev. Dr. Bliss, who was subsequently elected President of the Oxford University.

Other rare and instructive historical works were republished under the auspices of the Society, until their systematic "Collections" were extended to six volumes. In advancing the progress of these historical labors, upwards of three hundred members have taken an interest.

It is well here to bring to mind those who originally contributed to found and carry out this institution. Among the first corporators we find the names of Jeremiah Lippitt, Walter R. Danforth, William R. Staples, Richard W. Greene, Moses B. Ives, James Fenner, John Howland, Theodore Foster, John B. Francis, Albert C. Greene, Christopher G. Champlin, Nicholas Brown, Robert H. Ives, John Carter Brown, Philip Allen, John Pitman, John R. Bartlett, William S. Patten, Joseph Mauran, Romeo Elton, Job Durfee, Wilkins Updike, Elisha R. Potter, Jr., Rowland G. Hazard, Usher Parsons, and numerous others, whose names are registered in the records.

Among the most efficiently active members, we cannot omit to notice the persevering labors of John Howland, William R. Staples, Thomas H. Webb, Albert G. Greene, and the devoted exertions of the present Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, the Rev. Edwin M. Stone.

In uttering these names we cannot fail to recall the relation which they have held to the State, to manufactures and the mechanic arts, to the legal and medical professions, to philanthropy and popular education, and to the fields of science and of classic literature.

JAMES FENNER, son of Governor Arthur Fenner, was born in Providence in 1771, was graduated at Brown University in 1789, and early entered political life, in which he maintained a commanding position. In 1804 he was elected a Senator to Congress. In 1807 he resigned, and was elected Chief Magistrate of the State, an office he held four years. In 1821 he was again elected and held the office seven years. For more than half a century he was intimately and actively connected with the





public affairs of Rhode Island, and had linked his name indissolubly with the history of the State. He was the first President of the Historical Society, and held the office eleven years. He died April 17th, 1846.

JOHN BROWN FRANCIS, son of John and Abby Francis, was born in Philadelphia, May 31st, 1791, but passed his childhood and youth in Providence. He was graduated at Brown University in the class of 1808, and afterwards studied law at the Law School in Litchfield, Conn. In 1821 he fixed his home at Spring Green, Warwick, where he ever after resided. He took an active interest in politics, and for many years represented Warwick in the General Assembly. He was one year Senator in Congress, and five years Governor of the State. He was a life member of the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry and one year its Secretary. He was two years Treasurer of the Historical Society, and four years one of its Vice-Presidents. For twenty-nine years he held official relations with Brown University. He was a man of genial temperament, sincere, considerate, and in all relations of life very highly esteemed. Like his compeer Governor Fenner, he wielded a powerful political influence. Governor Francis died at Warwick, August 9th, 1864.

MR. HOWLAND, our second Treasurer for nine years, and our second President for twenty-one years, was profoundly versed in Rhode Island history, and what he gathered by dint of careful research he freely imparted to all seeking information. He was born in Newport, R. I., October 31, 1757, came to Providence in 1770, and served an apprenticeship at hair dressing with Benjamin Gladding. Here, and afterwards in his own place of business, he was brought into familiar relations with the leading men of the town and the State, as also with distinguished officers of the French and Provincial armies, quartered in town, from whom he derived a vast fund of knowledge respecting public affairs, which he turned to useful account. He was, in fact, as Governor Hopkins once said of President Manning, "a living library of political knowledge." He was town Audit fifteen years, Town Treasurer twelve years, Treasurer of the Providence Institution for Savings twenty-one years, Secretary of the Mechanics Association eighteen years, and President of the same six years. In 1835 Mr. Howland received the honorary degree of A. M. from Brown University. He died in this city November 5, 1854, in the ninety-eighth year of his age. His name will ever be inseparably connected with the founding of our Public School system of education.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It is only about 150 years old, and its history is therefore a history of rapid growth and change. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation. It covers a vast area of land, and its population is one of the largest in the world. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation. It is made up of many different peoples, races, and religions, and this diversity has been one of its strengths.

The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants. Many of the people who live in the United States today are the descendants of immigrants from other countries. This has helped to make the United States a more tolerant and accepting nation.

The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers. The people who lived in the United States in the early years were pioneers, and they were the ones who built the nation. They were brave and adventurous, and they were the ones who made the United States what it is today.

The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of freedom. The people of the United States have always valued their freedom, and they have fought hard to protect it. This has been one of the main reasons why the United States has been able to grow so large and so strong.

The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of opportunity. The people of the United States have always had the chance to improve their lives, and this has been one of the main reasons why the United States has been able to attract so many immigrants.

The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress. The people of the United States have always been looking for new ways to do things, and this has helped to make the United States a more advanced nation.

The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace. The people of the United States have always been peaceful, and this has helped to make the United States a more stable nation.

The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope. The people of the United States have always been hopeful, and this has helped to make the United States a more optimistic nation.

JUDGE GREENE succeeded Mr. Howland as the third President of our Society, an office he held for thirteen years, having previously been Cabinet Keeper ten years and a Vice-President six years. He was born in Providence, February 10th, 1802, graduated at Brown University in 1820, and studied the profession of the law with the late John Whipple. He was Clerk of the Common Council thirty-three years, Clerk of the Municipal Court twenty-three years, and Judge of the same Court nine years. In varied knowledge he was unsurpassed, and was a standard reference in all matters pertaining to science, art or literature, as well as in historic and antiquarian lore. As a poet, Judge Greene was endowed with remarkable power of expression; and those who have read "The Baron's Last Banquet," the "Song of the Windmill Spirits," and other productions from his pen, fortunately preserved in Miss Lynch's "Rhode Island Book," will need no other assurance of the rank to which he would have attained among modern rhythmic writers, had he given himself wholly to the service of the Muses. For the interests of our Society his labors were unwearied. In failing health he removed to Cleveland, Ohio, where he died January 3, 1868.

JUDGE STAPLES, for ten years Secretary, and five years Cabinet Keeper of our Society, and at the time of his decease one of its Vice-Presidents, made his several offices powers that were felt to the extremities of the State. To his untiring exertions during the earlier years of the Society we are indebted for many of the most valuable contributions to our collections. He was born in Providence, October 10, 1798, was graduated at Brown University in 1817, and studied law, upon the practice of which he entered. He was a member of the first City Council, was two years Justice of the Police Court, nineteen years Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and fourteen years Chief Justice of the same. For a number of the closing years of his life he was Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry. He died October 19th, 1868. His eulogist has truly said, "The spirit of Rhode Island history presided at his birth. Liberty regulated by law was the basis of his political philosophy. 'In God we hope,' was the motto and ruling principle of his life. Freedom of conscience, 'soul liberty'—was the sheet anchor of his religious faith, for he considered no creed as christian that was maintained by force, and no truth as vital that could not sustain itself."

DR. WEBB was born in Providence, and was the son of Thomas Smith





Webb, a highly respected citizen, and widely known as a leading member of the Masonic fraternity. He graduated at Brown University in 1821, subsequently studied medicine, and engaged in the profession. He was an enthusiastic antiquarian, and brought to the support of our Society a generous culture and persistent endeavor. He removed to Boston where he died in 1866. After leaving Providence, most of his active life was devoted to the interests of science, art and popular education. Dr. Webb was a valuable member of the Mexican Boundary Commission, under Hon. John R. Bartlett.

CHRISTOPHER GRANT CHAMPLIN, the fourth first Vice-President of this Society, was the son of Christopher Champlin, long a prominent citizen of Newport, and was born in that city. He was a graduate of Harvard University in the class of 1786, with Timothy Bigelow, Joseph Blake, Alden Bradford, William Harris, John Lowell, Isaac Parker, and others who attained to distinction in various professions. After leaving College he spent several years in Europe, and passed most of the time at the College of St. Omars. He was representative in Congress from 1797 to 1801, and Senator of the United States from 1809 to 1811, when he resigned. He engaged in Mercantile pursuits, and was distinguished for scrupulous exactness and high minded integrity. He was President of the Rhode Island Union Bank, in Newport, an office held by him twenty-seven years. He was a public spirited citizen, having the interests of his native State and town always at heart. His benevolence was large and quick, his friendships firm and true, his nearer relations in life devoted and affectionate, and his qualities as a citizen and as a man, greatly endeared him to a large circle of deeply attached friends. Mr. Champlin married a daughter of Benjamin and Mehetable Ellery, of Newport, and grand-daughter of Abraham Redwood, the patron of the Library bearing his name. He died without issue, March 31, 1840, in the seventy-second year of his age.

WILLIAM GODDARD was born in Johnston, R. I., January 2, 1794. He was the son of William Goddard, who in 1762 founded the "Providence Gazette and Country Journal," the first newspaper printed in this town. He was graduated at Brown University in 1812, studied law in Worcester, Mass., in the office of the late Hon. Francis Blake, and returned to Providence, where he became editor and proprietor of the "Rhode Island American," a paper he conducted with great ability until October, 1825, when it passed into the hands of Francis Y. Carlyle. In 1825 he was

The first of these is the fact that the population of the country has increased very rapidly in the last few years. This is due to a number of causes, including the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The second cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The third cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious.

The fourth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The fifth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The sixth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The seventh cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The eighth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The ninth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The tenth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious.

The eleventh cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The twelfth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The thirteenth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The fourteenth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious. The fifteenth cause is the fact that the country has been very fertile, and that the people have been very industrious.

appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, and subsequently of Belles Letters in Brown University. The first of these appointments he held nine years, and the second eight years, seventeen in all, and resigned in 1842, on account of ill health. Mr. Goddard was fourteen years a Trustee of the Historical Society, and ever took an active interest in its affairs. He was a man of refined tastes, and an accomplished scholar and writer. His productions were numerous, and were characterized for exact expression and vigor. Dr. Wayland, in his commemorative discourse, says: "It rarely happens that affluence is granted to men of so varied learning, so cultivated taste, and so elevated moral principle. Still more rarely are these advantages combined with the leisure and the will to use them with disinterested zeal for the benefit of the community. \* \* \* \* \* At no time of his life had his influence been so widely acknowledged, and so beneficially felt, as at the very moment when it ceased forever." He died February 16, 1846.

HON. SAMUEL EDDY was born in Johnston, R. I., March 31, 1769, was graduated at Brown University in 1787, and subsequently studied law with Hon. Benjamin Bourne, and become his copartner. He was officially connected with the University forty-two years, was twenty-one years Secretary of State, three terms a Representative in Congress from his native State, three years Clerk and eight years Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island. He devoted much of his leisure to the study of natural science, and to historical research. Besides what he did for the advancement of the prosperity of this Society, he enriched the transactions of the Massachusetts Historical Society with contributions from his industrious pen. He was "justly respected for his uprightness and intelligence, and for the extent and variety of his attainments." He died February 3, 1839, in the seventieth year of his age.

HENRY BULL, who was born August 29th, 1778, and died October 12th, 1841, was of the fifth generation from Governor Henry Bull, one of the eighteen persons who bought the Island of Aquedneck, [Rhode Island], and one of eight who settled the town of Newport in 1639, and built one of the first houses therein, which is still standing. He represented the town of Newport in the Legislature for above twenty years. Mr. Bull was for many years engaged in business as a merchant in Newport. He was a man of enterprise and integrity, and very influential in the affairs of the town. While engaged in business he gave attention to the ancient history of the town and State. The result of his researches was published in the Rhode Island Republican.





JEREMIAH LIPPITT was a lawyer of repute. He took an active interest in politics, and held an influential position in the community. He was graduated at Brown University in 1808, in the class of which John Brown Francis, William L. Marcy and Adoniram Judson were members. He died in 1846.

MOSES BROWN IVES was an eminent merchant and manufacturer of Providence. He was graduated at Brown University in the class of 1812. He held official relations to the University as a Curator and also as Treasurer from 1825 to 1857, in which last named year he died. Mr. Ives was a public-spirited citizen, and was warmly interested in the public schools of our city.

PHILIP ALLEN was largely engaged in manufactures. He was graduated at Brown University in 1803, was Governor of Rhode Island three years, and for six years represented the State in the Senate of the United States. He died in 1865.

NICHOLAS BROWN was, in his day, one of the leading business men in Providence. He was graduated at Brown University in 1786, was its Treasurer from 1796 to 1825, a Curator from 1791 to 1825, and one of the Socii from 1825 to 1841. He was a liberal patron of the University; and of the Butler Asylum for the Insane. He died in 1841.

REV. ROMEO ELTON, D. D., was a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1813, a Professor in the institution from 1825 to 1843, and subsequently a Professor in the University at Nashville, Tenn. He was a devoted student of history, and wrote a valuable life of Roger Williams. He resided some years in England, and during the war of the rebellion rendered important service to our government by expositions of the causes of the war, and the actual position of the Federal Administration in it, which were printed in one of the leading journals in London. A short time before his decease he read an interesting paper before the Historical Society on the "Etymology and Philosophy of Surnames." He died suddenly in Boston in 1870.

THEODORE FOSTER was graduated at Brown University in 1790. He entered the legal profession, was actively engaged in public affairs, and was for one term a Senator in Congress from Rhode Island. He removed from Providence to Foster, where he died in 1823. He devoted many

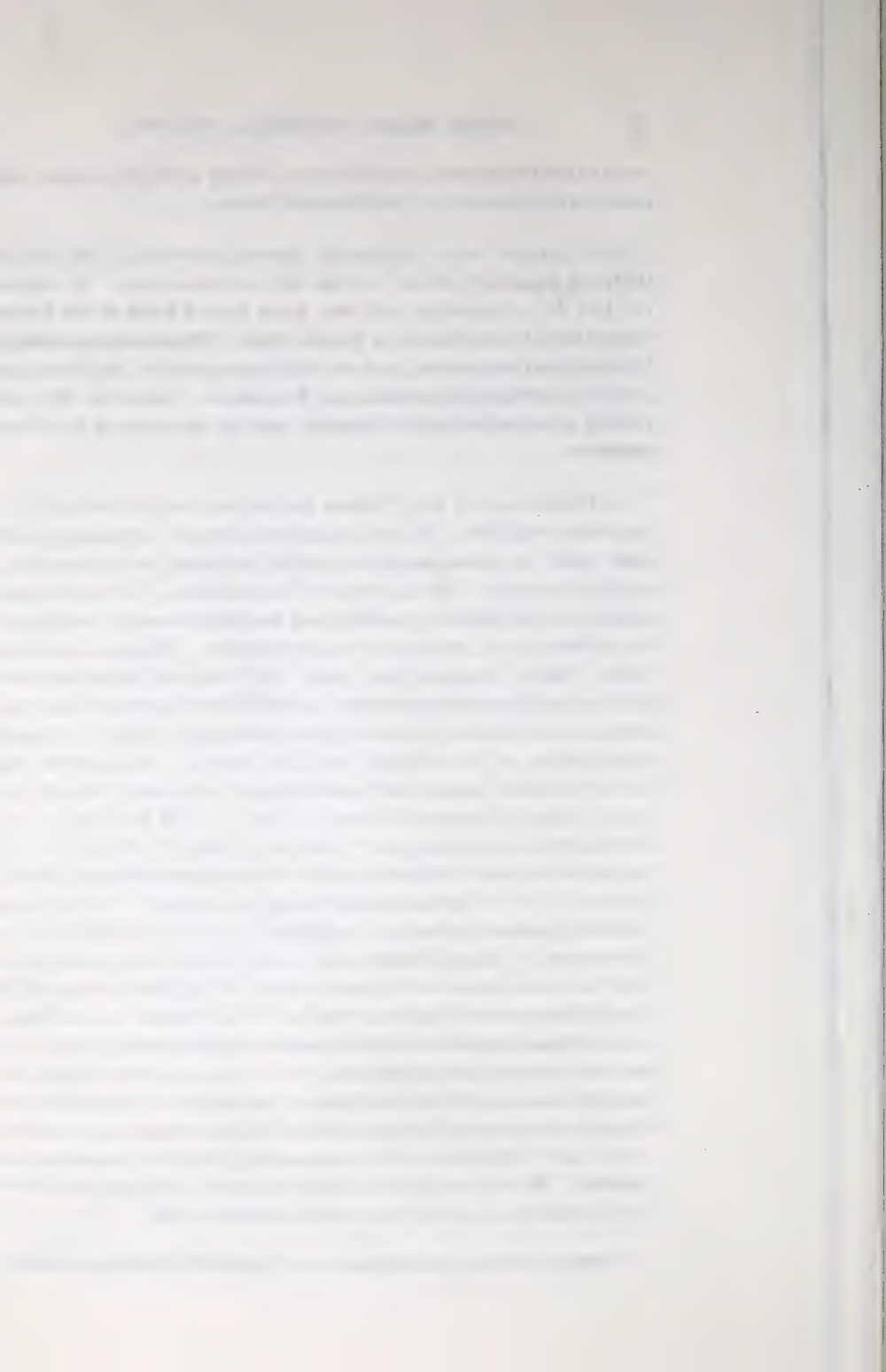


years to the collection of materials for a history of Rhode Island. His papers are the property of the Historical Society.

JOHN PITMAN was a graduate of Brown University in 1799, and for thirty-six years held official relations with his Alma Mater. He adopted the law for a profession, and was many years a Judge in the United States Court, for the District of Rhode Island. His tastes were strongly historical and antiquarian, and are fairly represented in his Centennial Address in 1836, on the settlement of Providence. He died in 1864, universally esteemed for judicial integrity, and for the purity of his private character.

JOB DURFEE, son of Hon. Thomas Durfee, was born in Tiverton, R. I., September 20th, 1790. He was graduated at Brown University in 1813, with which he subsequently held official relations as a Curator for a period of ten years. He made the law his profession. He was six years a member of the General Assembly, and was twice chosen to preside over the deliberations of the House of Representatives. He held a seat in the United States Congress four years, and took an influential position in the Representative body. In 1833 he was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, and in 1843 was made Chief Justice, an office he held until his decease. Judge Durfee was fond of historical studies, and was thoroughly conversant with all that related to the settlement of his native State. In 1838 he delivered two lectures before this Society on "Aboriginal History." The Winter following he delivered a lecture before the Massachusetts Historical Society upon the "Idea of the Supernatural among the Indians." In 1847 he delivered a discourse before our Society on "the Rhode Island Idea of Government." Judge Durfee's mind was of a poetic and metaphysical cast, the former shown in his poem entitled "What Cheer, or Roger Williams in Banishment," and the other in "The Panidea; or, An Omnipresent Reason considered as the Creative and Sustaining Logos." It has been correctly said of him that, "as a Judge, his known talents and integrity commanded the confidence of the people at large, while the dignity and courtesy of his manners conciliated the respect and friendship of the bar." His death, which occurred July 26th, 1847, was calm and peaceful. His various writings, including several charges to the Grand Jury, have been preserved in a volume printed in 1849.

WILKINS UPDIKE, the youngest son of Lodowick Updike, was born in





North Kingstown, R. I., January 8th, 1784, and died in Kingston, January 14th, 1867. He acquired a classical education at an Academy in Plainfield, Conn., and subsequently studied law with Hon. James Lanman, Hon. William Hunter, Hon. Asher Robbins, and Hon. Elisha R. Potter. In 1808 he was admitted to the bar, and engaged in practice. He entered actively into public affairs, and was for many years an influential member of the General Assembly. Here, as elsewhere, he rendered important services to our public school system. In 1824 he was a delegate to a convention called by the General Assembly to form a constitution for the State, and in 1841 and 1842 took a prominent part in constitutional conventions, called in each of those years. He was a delegate to a convention at Baltimore, which nominated Mr. Van Buren for President, and was appointed by President Jackson a commissioner under the Act of Congress, for settling land claims in Missouri. Mr. Uplike was fond of antiquarian investigations and historical studies. His "History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett," an invaluable work, shows thorough and patient research; and his "Memoir of the Rhode Island Bar," is a creditable contribution to biographical literature. Mr. Uplike possessed great individuality of character, and in his public life exercised an extensive influence.

But were mine the office of a biographer,—as at this hour it is not,—time would fail me to speak of Wheaton, the learned jurist, of the æsthetic Hartshorn, of the accomplished Jewett, of the courtly Hunter, of the eloquent Burges, of the witty Danforth, of the brilliant Tillinghast, of the facile Rodman, of the honored Bridgham, of the devout Hall, of the skillful Parsons, of the monetarian Tefft,\* of Aplin, Atwell, Pratt, Howard, Gould, Tibbitts, Robbins, Pearce, Angell, Cowell, Wayland, Bowen, Cranston, Everett, Fenner, Whipple, and scores of others

\* Thomas Alexander Tefft was born in Richmond, R. I., and early attained distinction in his native State as an Architect. In 1856 he visited England, and extended his travels to France, Switzerland, Italy, Lombardy and Russia, studying the peculiarities of architecture in those countries. He died at Florence, December 12, 1859, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. He was a graduate of Brown University, and author of a system for unifying the currencies of the world, which attracted the attention and gained the approval of the most eminent scientists in Europe. The International Monetary Congress held in Paris in 1867, after a session of ten days, reported and recommended for adoption a plan, of universal currency, in all essential features the same as that previously published by Mr. Tefft, though his name was not mentioned in the discussions. This may be accepted as an undesigned compliment to his genius and skill as a monetarian. The Historical Society, Brown University and the State should be interested in securing to his name an honor so justly his.



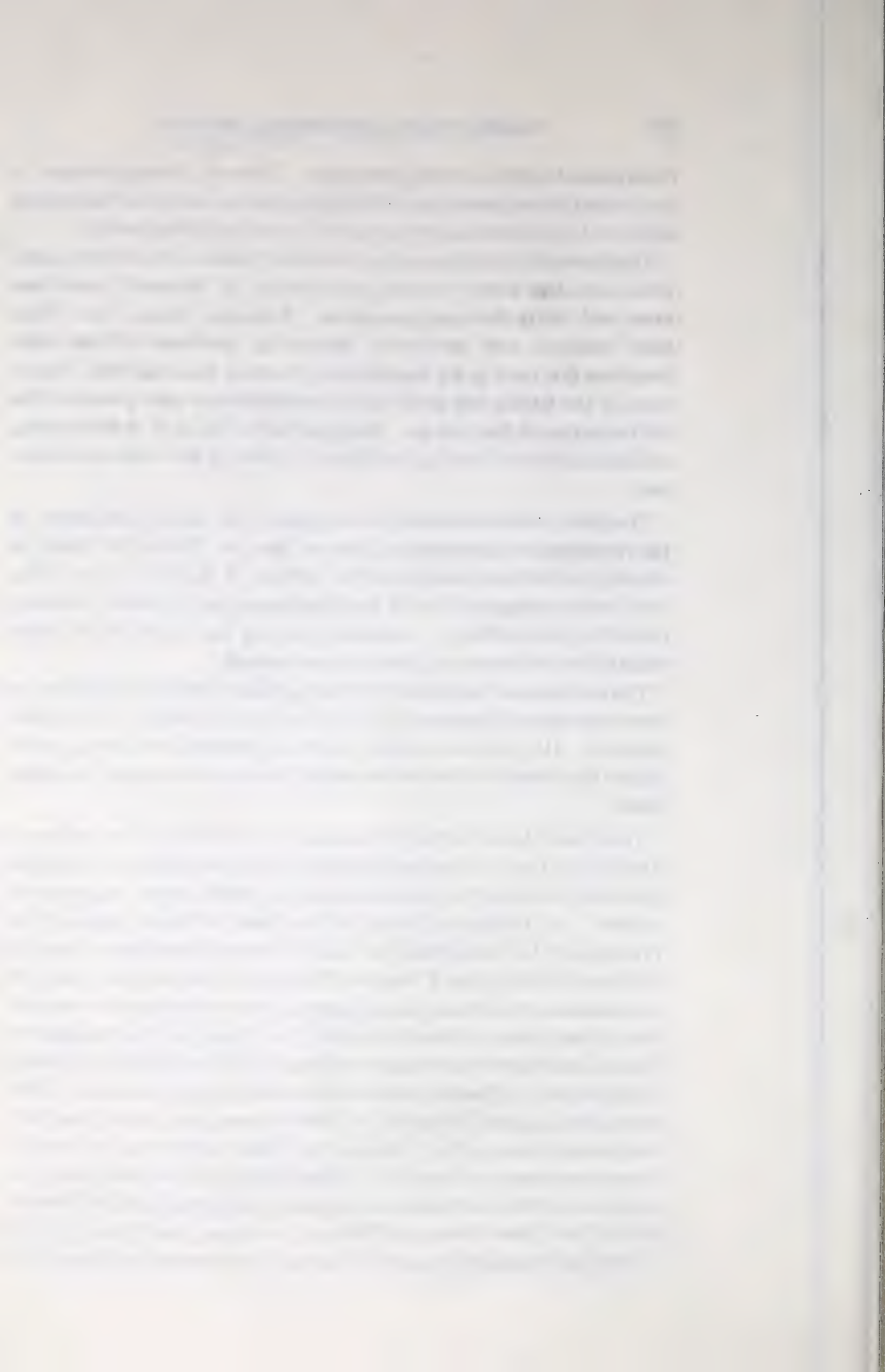
distinguished in their several professions. These all having obtained a good report, have passed on to fill higher spheres, and to find increasing enjoyment in penetrating the arcana of an ever-enduring world.

The historical collections gathered into the Cabinet of this Society, comprise more than seven thousand manuscripts, six thousand bound volumes, and thirty thousand pamphlets. Numerous Indian relics have been obtained, and particularly interesting specimens of the rude machines first used in the manufacture of cotton, wool and flax. Specimens of the fabrics first made by this machinery are also preserved for the inspection of the curious. Many portraits of the men of former days, and photographs of existing individuals, appear on the walls of the Cabinet.

The latest publication under the auspices of the Society was made by the researches and persevering labors of the Rev. Edwin M. Stone, including the thrilling narrative of the defence of the forts on the Delaware river, during the War of the Revolution, and a journal narrating the perils and sufferings encountered during the march of the army through the wilderness to Quebec, under Arnold.

The collecting of historical documents, rather than the compilation of them into regular historical works, is the special province of Historical Societies. It is their main object to furnish materials for history, and to inspire individuals with a zeal to embody them systematically in regular order.

There have been written by members of this Society, by natives of Rhode Island, and by residents therein, many interesting and important historical works and biographical memoirs, which may be appropriately noticed. An admirable History of the State of Rhode Island, by the President of the Association, Mr. Arnold; three biographies of the Life of Roger Williams, by Professors Gammell, Knowles, and Elton; the publications of the Rhode Island Records, in ten volumes, under the sanction of the State, by John R. Bartlett; the History of the Narragansett Church, and also of the Rhode Island Bar, by Wilkins Updike; the History of the Baptists, by Backus; and the Life of Manning, by Reuben A. Guild; several Biographical Memoirs, by Usher Parsons; the Life of John Howland, and a History of the Providence Mechanics Association, by Edwin M. Stone; the Annals of the City of Providence, the Proceedings of Congress and of Rhode Island in the Formation and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States, by William R. Staples; the Life of General Nathanael Greene, by George W. Greene;—are all so many evidences of the





extent of the labors accomplished in this department of historical science in Rhode Island.

Quite recently admirable *fac simile* reprints of five volumes of ancient historical works have been produced by the Narragansett Club, principally accomplished by the zeal for antiquarian researches of the present Secretary of this Society, Mr. George T. Paine.

It is not to be forgotten that this Society took an active part in establishing a truthful record of the achievement of Perry's Naval Victory on Lake Erie; the merit of which, by medals distributed by John Quincy Adams, had been awarded to Captain Elliott. The publication of the verified facts, illustrated by maps, was made under the direction of Tristram Burges and Usher Parsons, the latter having been a participator in the battle.

For continually procuring useful documents relating to other State histories, and also the published volumes of the laws of the several States and of the United States, an extensive correspondence is kept up with honorary members of the Society, and with the Secretaries of other Historical Societies. At times, correspondences with foreign Historical Societies have been carried on, and interesting historical interchanges have been made.

The details of other labors accomplished during the last half century by the members of this Society, have been specially stated in the comprehensive report of the Cabinet Keeper, the Rev. Edwin M. Stone, which will be given by him.

It remains now to close our review of the past by earnest appeals to the members of this Society, and to the people of Rhode Island, for their renewed zeal and vigilance in procuring every relic and document that will serve as land-marks for the guidance of future historians. Valuable old papers and documents are often stored away in boxes and garrets, which are of little value to the possessors. These may be readily obtained for preservation by a little personal exertion of the individual members of the Society and others.

All these relics and memorials constitute the basis of future history. Records of passing moments are now made systematically by myriads of ever-ready pens of reporters for the daily press, who are prompt to jot down every remarkable daily occurrence, even in the public streets. The behavior of a run-away horse, or a run-away girl, the explosion of a boiler or of a kerosene lamp; golden, silver and tin weddings are not omitted. Dinner speeches, political and religious meetings, speeches in



the halls of legislation and in lecture rooms, are now all diligently preserved in daily journals, and serve as records of the passing events of social life.

Thus passing events are not really so transitory as they may seem to be. They leave their impress, for weal or woe, and constitute future history. Indeed, history may be considered as typified, standing with vigilant watchfulness and ever-ready pen, to record each evil as well as good word and deed, even faults of indolent omissions as well as of commission.

Unlike "the recording angel of mercy," stern history rigidly inscribes human frailties, and drops no pitying tear to blot out the record.

Our pleasures and our troubles leave behind historic traces in the memory of the living, in graphic descriptions, in pictured representations on the speaking canvass and in sculptured bronze and marble.

Few pass away from earth without any historic record of their birth and death, or without a monumental stone on the turf that lies over their brow. The flash of a sunbeam through a lens on sensitively prepared paper is now rendered available to perpetuate the record even of a smile, or of a tear.

As social beings, we do not live for ourselves only, but mainly for posterity. We constitute the existing links of the chain that connects the past with the future. Our posterity have most important interests involved and at stake, as the results of our actions; for "the evil men do lives after them," as does also the good.

In turning to the past and contemplating the struggles by which the fair fabric of our State was reared, we may say in the words uttered by the Trustees of this Society in their report for 1839, "Our fathers lived not in vain. In the conflicts of the American Revolution they contended manfully in the council and in the field, for the principles of popular rights. To them belongs the merit of the first public suggestion of the General Congress which assembled in 1774; and to them, likewise, belongs the credit of making the first movement in behalf of our national system of naval defence. Not to enumerate other unquestioned titles to our grateful recollection, they bequeathed to us, in the spot we inhabit, a goodly heritage. Let us not slight this noble inheritance."

Evanescent and fleeting as is the light of day, that reveals to view human deeds, yet it photographs them more permanently than is imagined. An eminent astronomer graphically illustrates the photographic perpetuation for a thousand years, of pictures in the sky, transmitted by





sunbeams throughout infinite space. After calculating that the hazy light proceeding from the stellar suns, clustered in "the milky way," is continuously travelling ever onward a thousand years or more before passing through his telescope to impress their pictured outlines on the retina of his eye, he narrates, that on the subsequent day he turned his telescope to view a far distant hill on the verge of the horizon. The reflected light therefrom revealed a scene of theft, there committed by some boys in an orchard. He reasoned that in infinite space, at the distance of the stellar suns of the milky way in the heavens, the same photographic picture, travelling ever onward from that scene of orchard theft, might be visible to "the All-seeing eye," a thousand years after it was committed; and that the knowledge of it might thus be spread and published throughout the universe. We may be almost caused to shudder at this idea of the wide-spread history of our acts, recorded by the pencil of light in the heavens.

What a powerful inducement does history set before us for so controlling all our actions, that we may not shrink from the record of them when published throughout the universe.

The address was received with applause.

THE PRESIDENT.—While Italy had her historians to record, the story of her growth and glory, and her orators to inspire by their eloquence a patriotic love of country, she had also her poets to charm by flights of imagination, to enliven by flows of wit, to reform vice by keen satire, and to instruct by geoponic numbers. After the address to which we have listened with so much interest, we may feel assured that our Society and our State will not fail of a historic vindication, nor the respected dead a discriminating eulogist. It greatly enhances the enjoyment of this occasion, however, to know that our Society can also boast its poets, one of whom will now sing to you of the venerated past, and its outgrowths, in thoughtful notes, diversified, perhaps, by mirthful strains. I have the pleasure of introducing to you the poet of the evening, Henry C. Whitaker, Esq.



## "THE CHARM OF STORY."

A POEM:

BY

HENRY C. WHITAKER.

When in my youth the blood was warm,  
And through my veins like champagne flowing,  
When fancies in the brain would swarm,  
And like a flame my heart was glowing,  
I sometimes wrote in verse, sometimes  
In "Poets' Corners" was a sinner,  
And now and then served up my rhymes,  
Among the speeches at a dinner.

But Time has sprinkled o'er my hair,  
Its silver in a gentle raining,  
There's something in the faded air  
That tells me that my years are waning,—  
The blood's ripe wine is on its lees,  
Or flows in currents dull and sober,  
And in my ear this summer breeze  
Is whispering hints of life's October.

Too old for rhymes,—yet in this scene  
A charm brings back an earlier hour,  
When Memory's faithful wintergreen,  
Was sprouting in its bud and flower,—  
Visions, and airy shapes, and dreams,  
Float round me in mysterious dances,  
And through each door and window beams  
The purple light of old romances.

## THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION PUBLISHED WEEKLY CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 1, 1919

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The bright lamps streaming through the hall,  
The shadows pictured on the ceiling,  
The distant sounds that rise and fall,  
Like voices from the river stealing,—  
This storied wall, with many a trace  
Of recollections resting on it,  
The smile illuming many a face,  
The rose that blooms in many a bonnet,

Remind me of departed days,  
And joyous visions like the present,  
And summer noons with golden rays,  
And summer evenings just as pleasant,—  
Forms that are gone, come back again,  
And eyes long closed, once more are beaming,  
And hushed lips breathe and move, as when  
They told the tale the heart was dreaming.

And so by some strange spell, the years,  
The half-forgotten years of glory,  
That slumber on their dusty biers,  
In the dim crypts of ancient story,  
Awake with all their shadowy files,  
Shape, spirit, name,—in death immortal,  
The phantoms glide along the aisles,  
And ghosts steal in at yonder portal.

Down the long vistas of the past,  
Ah! many an eye with mine is roaming,  
Where the gray shades of history cast  
Fantastic pictures on the gloaming,—  
Spells and enchantments in the air,  
Brood o'er the city's broad expanses,  
And Water Street and Market Square,  
Are filled with spectral thoughts and fancies.

The men of fifty years ago,  
The patriots of the "Declaration,"  
Who bared the arm, and struck the blow,  
That broke the shackles of a nation,



The pioneers who crossed the seas,  
And planted here their humble dwelling,  
When war-whoops echoed in the breeze,  
And swamps with catamounts were yelling,

Are faring down from Christian Hill,  
And up from Fox Point and Tockwotton,  
Brushing the ancient pathways, still  
In fireside legends unforgotten;  
From Mill Bridge, and from Olney's Lane,  
And from the far Woonasquatucket,  
From Seekonk's silent vale and plain,  
From wigwams on the broad Pawtucket,

They come, a motley multitude,  
Alive once more in blood and muscle,  
Along Cheapside in varying mood,  
We hear their steps like dry leaves rustle,—  
They gather at the corner where  
Westminster Street the "Narrows" meeting,  
The Turk's head with its grin and stare  
The morning's kindling beam is greeting.

Beneath that "Bunch of Grapes" whose blush  
In early verse is still unfaded,  
Beneath the tree whose glorious flush  
Of summer blooms the tavern shaded,  
Down by the Market-house whose name  
Is still familiar with the people,  
On the Great bridge that links its fame  
With the First Baptist's bell and steeple,

We see them in their quaint attire,  
We hear them in their quainter speeches,  
Philip, the king,—John Brown, Esquire.  
The "Founder," in his leather-breeches,  
And Joshua Verrin's wife, whose tongue  
Was famous as an ancient harper,  
Like royal David's when he sung,  
Yet tuned to measures somewhat sharper.

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And men are there whose sainted dust  
    Beneath our feet unmarked is sleeping,  
And men whose names in sacred trust,  
    The sculptured marbles still are keeping,  
The matron, in whose brave eye glows  
    A fire that like a beacon flashes,  
The maiden, on whose cheek the rose  
    Is still remembered in its ashes;—

The red-man, with his dusky squaw,  
    Is mingling in the panorama,  
The heroes of the old French war  
    Are buckling on their steel and armour,  
The merchant, with his ships at sea,  
    Bound in from China or Jamaica,  
Stands watching Pomham's dangerous lee,  
    Or dreads Point Judith's booming breaker.

Drab coats, and hats of ample brim,  
    And hats turned up with lace and feather,  
And bonnets, underneath whose rim  
    The rose and lily bloom together,  
The blood-stained tomahawk,—the gun  
    Blistered and scarred in many a battle,  
And peaceful symbols in the sun,  
    Flaunting above the drum's sharp rattle,—

And voices, that like summer bees  
    Are buzzing o'er some tale of wonder,  
And sounds of cannon in the breeze,  
    Like mutterings of the far-off thunder,—  
The wails in many a midnight raid,  
    From scattered crop and burning rafter,  
The din of merchandize and trade,  
    The echoing shouts of joy and laughter,—

Are blended in the scenes that rise  
    Around us in a wild confusion,  
And listening ears and gazing eyes,  
    Are raptured in a strange illusion,

THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT  
TO THE PRESENT TIME  
BY  
JOHN H. COLEMAN  
OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON  
IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOL. I.  
BOSTON:  
PUBLISHED BY  
J. B. LEECH, 15 N. BOSTON ST.  
1855.

Pictures of years and centuries fled,  
Unroll their colourings before us,  
And tongues long hushed among the dead,  
Move once more in the living chorus.

And so we dream, and wondering dream,  
O'er memories shrined in storied pages,  
Until the fond enchantments seem  
To link our lives with distant ages,—  
The same sun shines,—the earth rolls round,  
As once it rolled in times primeval,  
And every passing sight and sound,  
With all that 's gone becomes coeval.

Rehobeth's soil is classic ground,  
For Roger Williams' feet have pressed it,  
Gray Whatcheer-Rock repeats the sound  
Of welcome which forever blessed it,  
And Neutaconkanut's heights look down  
On streets and squares and railroad stations,  
Where dwelt the patriarchs of the town,  
And cattle browsed the green plantations.

Down by the wharves are phantom sails,  
The "Ann and Hope," the good ship "Lion,"  
Up on the hill the Town-house wails  
The early settler's songs of Zion,  
And every shop door worn with age,  
The church spire and the crumbling dwelling,  
The moss-grown headstone's broken page,  
Some mouldering sleeper's virtues telling,—

Bring back the light of other days,  
And men that here filled up Life's measure,  
With cheerful hearts and honest ways,  
In wholesome toil, and simple pleasure,—  
And our own lives are multiplied  
In lives that ended long before us,—  
The dead are neighbours at our side,  
And the old years are bending o'er us.





By some mysterious charm, this life  
Back to the past is ever turning,  
Still keeping in its fret and strife  
The fires of memory freshly burning,—  
The heart still young, with fond regret,  
Recalls some vision that it cherished,  
Some morning-star that rose and set,  
Some wayside flower that bloomed and perished;—

And the old man of four-score years,  
Lives o'er in tender recollections,  
The vanished days of smiles and tears,  
Of buried hopes and lost affections,—  
Repeating with a kindling eye  
The story of his youth's ambition,  
And lingering as the hours go by,  
Unwearied o'er each rude tradition.

Sad were our lot, ah, sad, indeed!  
If in this vale of shadows groping,  
Our faith were narrowed to a creed  
That found its only light in hoping,—  
If from the past there came no rays  
To gild our joy, to cheer our sorrow,  
And Memory had no yesterdays,  
And Life were but a dim to-morrow.

Sad were our lot, but Heaven be blest,  
The mind and heart know no forgetting,  
The day expiring in the west,  
Dies not, but still out-lives its setting,—  
Years, centuries, like ashes blown,  
And men, like mouldering leaves, may perish,  
Unmarked by sculptured brass or stone,  
A thousand lips their memories cherish.

A thousand pens like spindles fly,  
To catch the story as it passes,  
'Tis written in the wintry sky,  
'Tis whispered in the summer grasses;—

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF  
HENRY THE SEVENTH  
OF ENGLAND  
BY  
JAMES HALLAM

LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1795.

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOLUME THE FIRST.  
CONTAINING  
THE REIGN OF  
HENRY THE SEVENTH.  
FROM 1485 TO 1509.

THE SECOND VOLUME  
CONTAINING  
THE REIGN OF  
HENRY THE EIGHTH.  
FROM 1509 TO 1547.

THE THIRD VOLUME  
CONTAINING  
THE REIGN OF  
EDWARD THE SIXTH.  
FROM 1547 TO 1553.

THE FOURTH VOLUME  
CONTAINING  
THE REIGN OF  
MARY THE SECOND.  
FROM 1553 TO 1558.

On hill and plain, the morning light  
Traces its lines with glowing fingers,  
And in the glories of the night,  
The consecrated record lingers.

The poem was enthusiastically received.

THE PRESIDENT.—Our poet has sung his pleasant lay, and carried us, in imagination, back to the good old days which some of our elderly friends present doubtless remember. I see before me one of the number who knew "Cheapside" in its palmy years, and from whom we hope to hear. I will call upon George Baker, Esq., to favor us with some remarks.

Mr. Baker said he was not in a condition to speak so as to be heard by the audience. His interest in the occasion had induced him to come out this evening. He had written down a reminiscence which, as it included a former President of the Society, might not be out of place at this semi-centennial gathering. He had placed it in the hands of his friend, Rev. Mr. Stone, who would now read it.

Mr. Stone then read the following :

On the occasion of the celebration of the second centennial anniversary of the landing of Endicott and his company at Salem, in September, 1623, I accompanied our late President, John Howland, as a delegate from the Rhode Island Historical Society to the then town of Salem, Mass. As railroads were not then built we rode in stage coaches. Having arrived at Salem Mr. Howland put up with Rev. Mr. Coet, Rector of St. Peter's Church, who had married the widow of Rev. Thomas Carlile, the former Rector. Mr. Carlile was the son of John Carlile, an active, prominent, and well known citizen of Providence. He was also nephew to John Howland, and was once in business with the late Joseph Manton, under the firm of Carlile & Manton, occupying a portion of the building which was formerly called "Whitman's Block," now standing at the junction of Westminster and Weybosset streets, long known as the "*Turk's Head*."

On the morning of the celebration, September 18th, a large number





were gathered on the common before the procession was formed, and among them was a portly and well formed gentleman dressed in a green coat, drab small clothes, with white stockings, and a broad brim beaver hat. As I was well acquainted with him and was seen to talk with him, I was questioned by a number to know who he was. I could only answer that it was David Grieve, of Providence, well known for his peculiar faculty of relating a story, or making or telling an anecdote, and also for his inventive genius and mechanical ingenuity.

The procession having been formed on the common, we passed up Essex street as far as the residence of the celebrated Dr. Holyoke, when he came out and joined the procession, which proceeded to Dr. Barnard's Church in North street, where Dr. Holyoke sat in the pulpit, while Judge Joseph Story delivered his eloquent discourse of two hours and ten minutes.

It may not be amiss to state that the writer was paired in the procession with the late Joseph Eveleth, then High Sheriff of Suffolk County. After the oration and the dispersion of the procession, the anniversary dinner was served in the hall of the assembly building on Chestnut street. Judge Story presided at the table. There were present Mr. Webster, Mr. Everett, and several other gentlemen of distinction, from Boston and elsewhere.

One of the regular toasts, "The Senators of the Commonwealth in Congress," was offered from the chair, after which Mr. Webster made a speech of considerable length. Mr. Silsbee, the other Senator, followed him, and concluded his speech with a toast in these words, "This Ancient Town of Salem, may its inhabitants never be induced from necessity or choice to remove their persons or property from this to any other town."

After other toasts had been read and other exercises had intervened, Judge Story called on the gentleman from Rhode Island, remarking in concluding an address to the company, that doubtless we should hear something from that gentleman relating to Roger Williams. Mr. Howland, the gentleman alluded to, rose and said: "I am sensible, sir, that it is not the usual order on public occasions to offer a toast which had been anticipated or presented by another gentleman before him, but as the gentleman alluded to is a citizen of Salem, and I am from a different town and another State, I presume it will not be improper to offer this: 'The Ancient Town of Salem, where Roger Williams first advocated the Freedom of Conscience in Religious Concerns.'"

The first part of the history of the world, from the beginning of time to the present, is divided into three periods. The first period is the period of the world's infancy, from the beginning of time to the present. The second period is the period of the world's maturity, from the present to the future. The third period is the period of the world's decline, from the future to the end of time.

The first period of the world's history is the period of its infancy. It is the period of the world's beginning, from the beginning of time to the present. It is the period of the world's growth, from the present to the future. It is the period of the world's decline, from the future to the end of time.

The second period of the world's history is the period of its maturity. It is the period of the world's growth, from the present to the future. It is the period of the world's decline, from the future to the end of time.

The third period of the world's history is the period of its decline. It is the period of the world's decline, from the future to the end of time.

The first period of the world's history is the period of its infancy. It is the period of the world's beginning, from the beginning of time to the present. It is the period of the world's growth, from the present to the future. It is the period of the world's decline, from the future to the end of time.

The second period of the world's history is the period of its maturity. It is the period of the world's growth, from the present to the future. It is the period of the world's decline, from the future to the end of time.

THE PRESIDENT.—I would now call upon Mr. Joseph Sweet, whose memory of men and events embraces a period of more than four score years. Perhaps he can tell us of some of the changes he has witnessed, and especially of David Grieve, an ingenious and somewhat eccentric character of his time.

Mr. Sweet said he was not accustomed to public speaking, and had made no preparation for this occasion. He recollected Mr. Grieve, and had often seen him in his place of business on Westminster street. He invented a steamboat to be propelled against currents and tides, which he exhibited on the Seekonk and Providence rivers. It did not, however, realize his expectations, and it was sold to some party in Boston, and sunk while being towed to that city.

THE PRESIDENT.—Another of our elderly citizens present is Mr. Christopher Burr. Will he favor us with some of his recollections?

Mr. Burr said he recollected very distinctly the circumstances mentioned by Mr. Sweet, but had nothing to relate that was not generally known.

THE PRESIDENT.—We are favored with the presence of another of our poets this evening, who finds in the expositions of law and the dispensing of the awards of justice, excellent preparations for the enjoyment of a "*Village Picnic*." We shall be happy to hear from Judge Durfee.

Judge Durfee responded in a few words, expressing his interest in the exercises of the evening and the pleasure it gave him to be present. He had not expected to be called upon to speak, had not prepared himself to do so, and would therefore refrain from any further remarks.

THE PRESIDENT.—I shall now ask Ex-Governor Dyer to address us.





MR. CHAIRMAN.—You must be aware of the very natural sensitiveness of a person of no particular age, in being called upon to respond to any subject or sentiment connected with a semi-centennial celebration of an Historical Society. Certainly, surrounded as you are by veterans, you cannot expect from myself anything more than a repetition of hearsay traditions; and if, sir, in any reference to them you detect a strong personal identity with the times to which I may refer, I beg you to remember I have a very vivid and retentive memory of what I may have heard. True, sir, if I were to refer to the great gale of September, 1815, and speak of it, as an observer of its terrific effects, I hope that you will not forget that the first impressions of a child's mind are always the stronger and more durable. I remember of my father leading the horse from the barn which then stood upon the north end of our old homestead estate, next to the waters of the cove, and located on what is now called Westminster and Arcade streets and Exchange Place. The horse was attached to the ballusters of the stairs, (from the kitchen to the second floor), and the water so deep in the kitchen as to require the animal's swimming, and to find a foothold as best he could. Opposite our home, where the Arcade now stands, on the steps of the house then occupied by Theodore Taylor, other horses were standing. I remember the sloop aground on Eddy street, as the waters subsided, the floating of the large ship Ganges up the Woonasquatucket river's opening into the cove, the filling of the cove with the debris of broken buildings, and an angry, surging flood, the floating away of Mr. Walter Danforth's barn, (next my father's), and the terrible howling winds, and too many other incidents for enumeration here.

Subsequently, I recall my first school day's experience as a pupil of "Ma'am Gardner's," at the corner of Weybosset and Orange streets, a matron then of caps and short gowns. "Ma'am Low," succeeded her, and in my childish imagination, she was of Amazonian pretensions, in her tall, lank person, black hair and eyes, and the invariably black woolen dress, with a somewhat masculine development of beard. Her favorite recognition and "reward of merit" was allowing us good boys to sit on a little wooden stool in the chimney corner, and pick up with the iron tongs the red hot coals to drop into her bowl of cider to make it warm. Here, also, I learned the first application of the law of gravity, as sitting suspended upon a long, rough wooden bench, (worn smooth, however, by the boys' and girls' trowsers and skirts,) I used to drop asleep and fall upon the floor, some fifteen inches or more below me. But I forget, Mr Chairman, I am using too freely that vigorous memory I referred to.



Subsequently, "Ma'am Philbrook," Moses Noyes, Rev. Mr. Preston, Luther Ainsworth, Rev. George Taft, G. A. DeWitt, and Roswell Smith, tried to store my mind with knowledge. It would be a refreshing, pleasureable task to talk over these, my boyhood's memories and stories, but here is not the time or place.

David Grieve was referred to by my predecessor, and here again boyhood's days and impressions come rushing onward. He was a genial looking, corpulent, good-natured, ruddy-faced man. His broad brim, white hat, drab coat, vest, and short breeches, long stockings and buckled shoes, bespoke the Quaker garb and sect. His sign was over his small shop, corner of Walker and Westminster streets, and the name was painted in a red scroll, on a black board, as I recall it, "David Grieve, Cotton Ball Winder," did not, however, express all of his skill and labor. He made the best tops for the boys, button moulds and a variety of articles on his foot-turning lathe. He styled himself also an Artist, which I presume referred to his engraving of the labels for his thread balls. He was at one time in England, and as reported saw a screw propelling boat upon the river Thames at London. Whether so or not, he was the first person, I think, in the United States, who ever attempted the construction of the now familiar screw propelling power. He had a large scow and two wooden screw propellers extending beyond the stern. A large wheel horizontally, placed in the centre of the scow, was furnished with wooden geer teeth at the under, outer edge. These corresponded to the gears at the end of his propeller shafts, placed under the wheel. Oxen walking on the upper surface of the wheel caused its revolution, and the propelling shafts. He very generously proposed an excursion to the Masonic fraternity to go to Pawtuxet, St. John's day and festival. They went and as it was ebb tide, reached that place very comfortably, the propellers very promptly responding to the effort of the oxen. At the close of the festival the Lodges reassembled on their return to Providence, full of good cheer and "pleasant memories." But it was ebb tide again! The scow moved from her moorings, and by dint of muscular effort, of man and beast succeeded in progressing perhaps a mile or less, homeward. But the motive power gave out! The steam condensed, and a lucky chance it was that put them ashore at midnight, some four miles from home, to reach which furnished an opportunity of commenting upon the screw boat, and her enterprising projector. The propeller was sold in Boston, and in being towed thither was lost. One of the persons most severe in commenting on the "screw boat's" futility





was often importuned to subscribe for stock in the enterprise. Mr. Grieve often pertinaciously presented his favorite scheme to this person, who roundly declared he never would contribute a farthing for it. The screw boat was insured at the Washington Office, in which this person was largely interested, and every opportunity was improved to remind the unfortunate stockholder that he did pay more than a farthing for the old "screw boat!" \*

But, sir, these are too local matters for repetition at a State Society's festival! And I should apologize, perhaps, for their intrusion. Ours, sir, is the privilege of a birthright in a State rich in historical and aboriginal facts and traditions, especially in Indian language and names, in heroic deeds and humanity's better impulses. Sir, I appeal to our younger members to make this a specialty of effort, this restoration and recovery of our aboriginal lore and storied past. I made the effort a few years since of having a *skeleton* map of our State lithographed, for the purpose of general distribution, that every name and locality might, if possible, be placed upon it as known to aboriginal predecessors, rescuing, if possible, from hurrying time and oblivion, the rich collection of appropriate and euphonious words and language of the Indian tribes of our State. I went to Boston exclusively to accomplish this purpose, in the preparation of these maps. But the unyielding pressure of other matters prevented further attention to the subject. And in closing these imperfect, informal remarks, I again appeal to our younger members for a renewal of these efforts, the successful accomplishment of which would honor our State, this Society and themselves.

**THE PRESIDENT.**—I take pleasure in announcing that we are honored this evening with the presence of the oldest

\*Mr. Grieve was by trade a tailor. He came from East Greenwich, where he had resided, to Providence, his subsequent home. In 1801 he obtained a patent from the United States, for the "discovery that boats or other craft, may be made to ascend rivers against the entire force of the current, by virtue of the action of the same upon wheels and other machinery." He applied his discovery to two boats, one called a "Moses-boat," which he put in operation on the Seekonk river, the propelling power being three men travelling on a wheel, and the other "The Experiment," the latter being the one referred to by Governor Dyer. An engraving of "The Experiment" is in the Cabinet of the Historical Society. While in England, Mr. Grieve frequently visited the London markets to observe the habits of purchasers. In comparing the laboring classes of England with those of America, he said the difference between them in the expenditure of money for the supply of the table, appeared to be, that when the former went to market they purchased what their money would buy, while the latter bought what their appetites craved without regard to cost.



Alumnus of Yale College, the venerable Thomas Williams, now upwards of ninety-three years of age, and long known and respected in this community as a devoted minister of the Gospel. Few men living among us have had so extensive an acquaintance with the clergy of New England as has Mr. Williams. We shall be pleased to hear from him upon the changes that have taken place in the profession here and elsewhere.

Mr. Williams not hearing the invitation did not respond.

REV. MR. STONE.—Mr. President, at this stage of the proceedings, I will, with your permission, offer the following sentiment :

*" Our Absent Friends."*

In response to this sentiment, I will read letters received from several gentlemen to whom invitations to participate in our festivities were extended, expressing regret that they cannot be with us to-night. The first on the list is from a gentleman of this city, and I am quite sure you will agree with me that it is of a highly practical and certainly of a very satisfactory character.

#### LETTERS.

*To the President of the Historical Society :*

SIR:—I should be pleased to attend the semi-centennial anniversary of the Society, to be held on the nineteenth instant, but sickness prevents.

Please allow me to present through Doctor Collins, the small sum of one hundred dollars, towards defraying expenses.

Very respectfully yours,

P. W. GARDINER.

Providence, July 18, 1872.

FROM HON. SAMUEL POWELL.

NEWPORT, July 10, 1872.

DEAR SIR.—I am very much gratified by the honor of your invitation to be present at the social commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

There is very much in the past history of this remarkable State, which renders all its memories most deeply interesting to every advocate of

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation, and its history is therefore a history of expansion and conquest. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation, and its history is therefore a history of conflict and compromise.

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human rights, and of the truest liberty; Rhode Island stands first, illustrious among all of the people of the earth—and I trust, indeed, that her Historical Society may long hand down to coming generations, most jealous memories of those free institutions which must ever be strongest in resisting misrule and oppression; while their pristine simplicity and integrity shall be preserved by the most watchful care of her sons.

I sincerely regret that it will be impossible for me to leave home on Friday.

Yours, most respectfully,

SAMUEL POWELL.

To Rev. EDWIN M. STONE, for the Committee of Arrangements.

FROM BENJAMIN B. HOWLAND, ESQ.

NEWPORT, July 18, 1872.

*To the Committee of Arrangements of the Rhode Island Historical Society, at Providence:*

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to attend the semi-centennial anniversary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, on Friday evening, July 19th, inst. It would afford me much pleasure to attend the meeting, but being somewhat unwell and advanced in age, I shall not be able to come. I rejoice that the Society has been so successful during the fifty years of its existence, in gathering together so much of Rhode Island history, much of which would probably have been lost had it not been for its exertions. This State has a history perhaps more valuable to posterity than any other in the Union, as here the leaven of perfect freedom of conscience in religion was incorporated in the government and laws, which we have seen extending, and is now extending, further and further throughout the civilized world; and is it too much to believe that it will continue to extend its influence until all the governments of the world will at last be leavened? And there are other parts of her history which will afford ample gleanings in the lives of her eminent men, whose power and influence in the various professions and business of life have been known and felt in the history of the world.

For the future prosperity of the Society you have my best wishes.

Very respectfully,

BENJAMIN B. HOWLAND:

FROM HON. FRANCIS BRINLEY, OF NEWPORT.

PROVIDENCE, July 18, 1872, 1 1-4 o'clock.

MY DEAR SIR:—I intended to have been present at the Historical

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Society's meeting to-morrow evening. But it is necessary that I should be in Newport to-morrow forenoon, and I very reluctantly deny myself the pleasure of meeting the members on the observance of the anniversary.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

FRANCIS BRINLEY.

REV. EDWIN M. STONE, Providence, R. I.

FROM DAVID KING, M. D.

NEWPORT, R. I., July 17, 1872.

*Rev. Edwin M. Stone,*

MY DEAR SIR:—Please accept my thanks for yourself and the Committee, for the invitation to the anniversary of the Rhode Island Historical Society. It would give me great pleasure to be present with you on that interesting occasion, but my numerous engagements at this season will prevent my visiting Providence. I am

Yours very respectfully,

DAVID KING.

FROM REV. DAVID BENEDICT, D. D., PAWTUCKET.

PAWTUCKET, July 18, 1872.

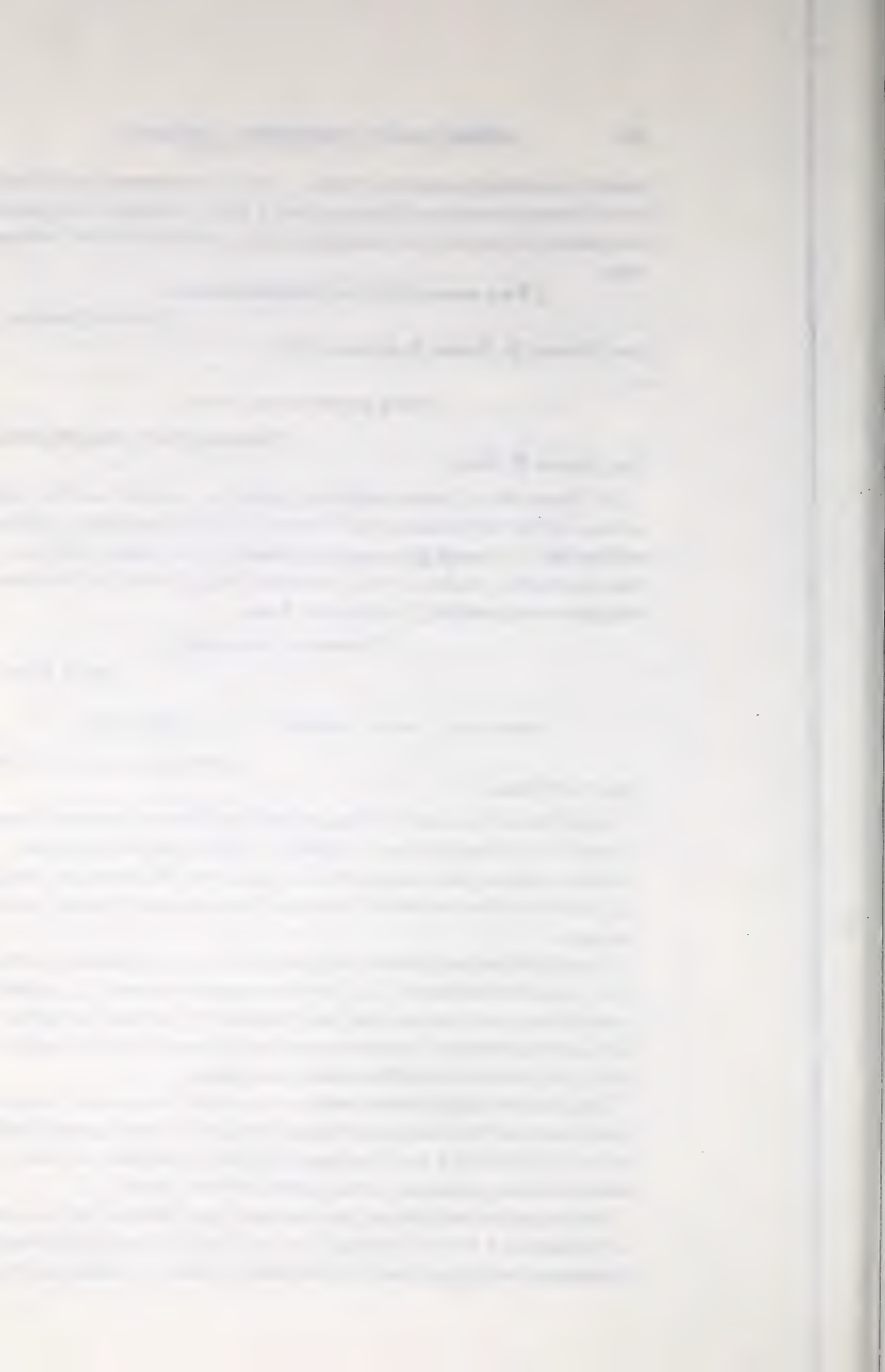
*Rev E. M. Stone:*

DEAR SIR:—Your note inviting me to attend the semi-centennial anniversary of the Rhode Island Historical Society was duly received. A similar invitation has been received by me from Mr. Perry, my coadjutor in the historical studies of a foreign land, on which I am at present engaged.

It would afford me much satisfaction to unite in the proposed celebration, but at my advanced age, I have for sometime found it prudent to refrain from going out at night; and instead of a personal attendance I will take the liberty to rehearse some reminiscences in my connection with your valuable institution, many years since.

This was the first historical society of any kind with which I was ever connected, and for a number of years I attended its meetings quite often, and at an early day I had the honor of being appointed to deliver the annual address, according to the custom of those times.

Not long after the death of the venerable Isaac Backus, by the request of the Society I visited his then late residence in search of historical documents, and by permission of his family, I selected as many as I could





get into an old-fashioned chaise box. These documents I suppose are still safely deposited among other antiquarian papers. Here I deposited a number of volumes of Morgan Edwards' MS. histories of Baptists in different States. I begun the negotiation for Comer's Diary, which was matured by Rev. Mr. Tustin, then the Baptist minister at Warren.

As the Baptists then had no Historical Society of their own this was my only place of deposit for documents which I judged ought to be preserved.

I do not know of any member now living by whom the Society was managed in those early times. Prominent among them were Judge Staples, Professor Elton, General Carpenter, &c.

Although for sometime past I have not attended the Society's meetings, as formerly, yet my concern for its prosperity has never ceased, and I have always kept the run of its doings as they have been announced in the public journals.

Thus far I had no connection with any other kindred institution, and was the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Pawtucket, which was a branch of the old First Baptist Church in Providence. It arose under my youthful ministry in 1805, while in College.

According to the foregoing statements, I claim your Society as my historical *Alma Mater*. I will take the liberty in this communication to give a brief account of my collection of documents on a more extensive plan than you ordinarily pursue.

After resigning my pastoral relation, about forty years since, my time was almost devoted to the collection of documents and historical pursuits. These documents were mostly of a denominational character. They were collected from all parts of the country, including the British Provinces, and far as possible from foreign realms. As in process of time two public historical institutions were established, one in Philadelphia, and the other in Newton, Mass., which bear the Baptist name, to these institutions my attention has been principally directed, and I chose to finish the distribution myself, as I was approaching the position of a nonagenarian, I made a pretty thorough clearing out, by sending off about fifteen hundred weight, so that I am now about where I was in early life.

Yours respectfully,

DAVID BENEDICT.

Most of this written without glasses.



FROM HENRY THAYER DROWNE, ESQ., SECRETARY NEW YORK ETHNO-  
LOGICAL SOCIETY.

NEW YORK, July 18th, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your kind invitation to attend the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Rhode Island Historical Society was duly received, as was also your very appreciable letter of the 11th inst.

I greatly regret my inability to be present, for it would give me much pleasure to meet Rhode Islanders and join with them in celebrating an event so worthy of being commemorated.

My interest in the progress of the Society is unabated, and, being one of its members, I will try to do something for its benefit in the future.

In glancing over its records I noticed that for the period of half a century only *four* have held the office of President—all most worthy persons. Long may its present incumbent (Mr. Arnold) hold the office so fairly won by his constant devotion to the interests of the State.

Among the *few* active gentlemen, eminently deserving of thanks, is my esteemed friend, *the Librarian*. I hope *his* invaluable services will be continued to the Society for many years to come.

The Society has already accomplished much and there remains much more to be done.

Dr. Gervinus, the ablest of the commentators on Shakespeare's writings, penned, as you are aware, a noble tribute to Roger Williams and the State.

Mr. Bancroft (the historian) said, "no State has furnished so many ideas of government that have afterwards become *national* as Rhode Island," and, in this connection, Mr. Verplanck's admirable historical discourse, in 1818, (before the New York Historical Society), should not be forgotten.

Let us, therefore, all unite in the noble work of gathering for preservation the records of the State's history, in order that the centennial celebration of 1822-1922 may witness a splendid result achieved for posterity.

In conclusion, I beg the Society's acceptance of a series of views of Camps and Hospitals in Washington and vicinity, during the late war of the rebellion, which possibly may be of service to the historian.

Always truly yours,

HENRY T. DROWNE.

Rev. EDWIN M. STONE, of Committee of Arrangements, &c., Providence, R. I.





FROM C. W. FREDERICKSON.

NEW YORK, July 4th, 1872.

*To the President and Fellows of the Rhode Island Historical Society:*

GENTLEMEN:—Sometime since I had the honor to present to your honored Society through my old and esteemed friend, H. W. Lothrop, Esq., of your city, a silver medal prepared for Indian presentation by the British Government, during the reign of George III. I have now the pleasure to forward to you through the medium of my friend Henry T. Drowne, Esq., a Rhode Islander, and a worthy citizen of this city, a rare silver medal, of the Indian class, struck during the administration of President Madison, in 1809. Be pleased to accept of the same in commemoration of the golden anniversary of your honored Society, and in the "Hope" that a more humane and enlightened policy may prevail towards them and those who gave to our language the word "*What Cheer*."

Faithfully,

C. W. FREDERICKSON.

THE PRESIDENT.—I notice in the audience one of the four surviving charter members of this Society, Ex-Governor Charles Jackson. We should be happy to hear from him.

Ex-Governor Jackson made a brief and pleasant response. He said that in the early days of the Society he had taken an interest in its operations, but of late years he had been so absorbed in business that he had really forgotten until he saw it in the *Journal*, that he was one of the original members, which, he confessed, showed a not very active interest in it; but he hoped there was yet time for him to do something in its behalf, which he promised to do.

THE PRESIDENT.—I will now call upon Hon. Robert Sherman, of Pawtucket, to address us. In response Mr. Sherman said:

MR. PRESIDENT.—This is not the first occasion on which I have been placed under obligations to the Rhode Island Historical Society, by the courtesy of its officers. Not long since, the doors to its storehouse of information were politely opened to me by the Librarian, and valuable information obtained, which greatly aided me in the proper discharge of

# THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

has been established as a permanent institution of higher learning and research, and is now open to the public. The University of Chicago is a non-sectarian institution, and its purpose is to advance the frontiers of knowledge in all fields of human endeavor. It is a place where the highest quality of scholarship and teaching is maintained, and where the most advanced methods of research are employed. The University of Chicago is a place where the best minds of the world are gathered, and where they are free to pursue their studies and research in all fields of human endeavor. It is a place where the highest quality of scholarship and teaching is maintained, and where the most advanced methods of research are employed. The University of Chicago is a place where the best minds of the world are gathered, and where they are free to pursue their studies and research in all fields of human endeavor.

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an important official duty. But, sir, as it has been announced that this evening is to be passed largely in a social manner, I hope you will pardon me for giving a few somewhat personal reminiscences of my acquaintance with the now city then town of Providence.

Forty-six years ago I was a pupil in the public school on Benefit street, near its junction with North Main street. The school was then under the charge of Messrs. Curtis and Seagrave, and during my school days' experiences I met with few, if any, teachers whom I remember with greater pleasure, or to whom I am under greater obligations for efforts to instruct in branches taught, or to instil into the mind the right use of hours for study, while endeavoring to obtain an education.

With the boys of my then age, Gilbert Richmond's cookies, and Thomas C. Hull's sugar gingerbread, the first baked at the head of Constitution Hill, the latter at its foot, were recognized as being worthy of great industrial efforts. Mother Gibbs then sold yeast directly opposite the school house, and the old house in which she dispensed this great household necessity by the penny worth, still occupies its original position, and exhibits all of its original architectural beauties. The large barn on the south of the house in the doorway of which I almost daily, for many months, saw the "sanctified" face of Martin Pollard, who, it was afterwards thought, disposed of the "Match Man" on the East Turnpike, was removed a few years since, to give place to modern improvements. In later years my business pursuits brought me in direct contact and acquaintance with the early newspaper publishers of Providence. John Miller, of the *Journal*, Col. Simons, of the *Herald*, Capt. Jones, of the *Patriot*, and S. S. Southworth, (since John Smith, Jr., of Arkansas), of the *Subaltern and City Gazette*, I knew pleasantly and well. The leading editorial of the latter, following the election of the "illustrious Knight of Spring Green" as Governor of Rhode Island, is worthy a place among the Historical reminiscences of Rhode Island.

Thanking you for the invitation to be present on this pleasant occasion, I will stop my recurrence to men and things of bye-gone years, and listen to the members of the Society who knew residents and the institutions of your goodly city at an earlier day than that of which I have spoken.

HON. AMOS PERRY.—Mr. President, I rise to give expression to the interest I feel in this anniversary, and also to say a word in behalf of my venerable friend, the Rev. David Benedict, D. D., of Pawtucket. I saw him this afternoon at





his home, where he devotes most of his time to an important work he is preparing for the press. He expressed a lively interest in this commemoration, and would have greatly enjoyed meeting with us and participating in these exercises; but at four-score years or more, prudence dictated that he should avoid exposure to the evening air, and maintain unimpaired the regular habits to which he has long been accustomed. But, although he cannot be here to entertain and instruct us with the relation of incidents and experiences drawn from the store-house of a tenacious memory, he has written a letter of reminiscences which will doubtless be received in season to take its place with those already read.

THE PRESIDENT.—The Judiciary has always been ably represented in this Society. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island is present, and I call upon him for some remarks.

Judge Brayton referred briefly to the anniversary of the Historical Society's birth, and of the fitness of such exercises. He then proceeded to notice one or two features in Rhode Island history and character. Rhode Island was unlike any other of the New England States in the circumstances of its settlement and of its early life. It was, as the address to which we had listened, had intimated, the child or product of persecution. The principles avowed by its founder were such as shut it out from the sympathy of neighboring Colonies, and when the confederation of 1643 was formed for mutual safety, Rhode Island was intentionally "left out in the cold," to struggle alone for continued existence. It was not greatly surprising that events took this course. Freedom from domination in religious matters was a novelty, and nowhere else existed. To grant to all men the right of private judgment, and to propagate any form of belief, whether christian or otherwise, was a liberty which bigoted minds could not tolerate, and one reason assigned for proposing to send Mr. Williams to England was to get rid of an influence that it was feared his settlement in the neighborhood of Massachusetts would exert upon that Colony. But these principles were sound. They had endured the test of time. They had approved themselves to the thoughtful of each succeeding generation. They had given Rhode Island an honorable renown, and were the surety of the future prosperity of the State.



THE PRESIDENT.—Ladies and Gentlemen ; this closes the intellectual exercises of the occasion ; but before we separate there is one more duty to be performed. The Committee of Arrangements, with due regard to the exhausting labors of the evening, have provided a bountiful collation, to partake of which you are now cordially invited.

Upon this invitation, the company repaired to a table spread under the direction of Caterer Wright, with a profuse supply of sandwiches, cake of different kinds, ice creams of various flavors, tropical and other fruits, &c.

Three quarters of an hour was agreeably spent in partaking of the edibles, and in social mingling, when the audience retired to their homes, carrying with them pleasant recollections of the first SEMI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



The American Medical Association is a non-profit corporation organized for the purpose of promoting the interests of the medical profession and the public. It is organized into a national association and a number of state associations. The national association is organized into a number of departments, each of which is responsible for a particular aspect of the medical profession. The state associations are organized into a number of departments, each of which is responsible for a particular aspect of the medical profession in that state.

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## APPENDIX.

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NOTE.—PAGE 118.

The statement in regard to the early action of Rhode Island looking to a union of the colonies is sustained by resolutions passed by the town of Providence and by the General Assembly. The "Boston Port Bill," as it was called, by which the port of Boston was to be shut up until satisfaction should be rendered for the destruction of the East India Company's Tea, passed both Houses of the British Parliament in March, 1774. On the 10th of May following, tidings of this act reached Boston. On the seventeenth of the same month a town meeting was held in Providence, when it was

*"Resolved,* That this Town will heartily join with the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and the other Colonies, in such measures as shall be generally agreed upon by the Colonies, for protecting and securing their invaluable rights and privileges, and transmitting them to the latest posterity. That the deputies of this town be requested to use their influence at the approaching session of the General Assembly of this Colony, for promoting a Congress as soon as may be of the representatives of the general assemblies of the several colonies and provinces of North America, for establishing the firmest union and adopting such measures as to them shall appear most effectual to answer that important purpose, and to agree upon proper modes for executing the same. That the Committee of Correspondence of this town be desired to assure the town of Boston that we consider ourselves greatly interested in the present alarming conduct of the British Parliament towards them, and view the whole

## APPENDIX

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The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the State of New York, for the year 1880, as shown in the official report of the Governor, published by the State Printing Office, Albany, N. Y., 1880.

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English Colonies equally concerned in the event, and that we will with the utmost firmness act accordingly, whenever any plan shall be agreed on. In the meantime we are of opinion that an universal stoppage of all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, Africa, and the West Indies, until such time as the port of Boston shall be reinstated in its former privileges, will be the best expedient in the case, and that a proper time should be agreed on for the same universally to take place."\*

The General Assembly of Rhode Island met by adjournment, June 13th, and on the 15th adopted the following resolutions :—

" This Assembly taking into the most serious consideration several acts of the British Parliament for levying taxes upon His Majesty's subjects in America without their consent, and particularly an act lately passed for blocking up the port of Boston; which act, even upon the supposition that the people of Boston justly deserved punishment, is scarcely to be paralleled in history for the severity of the vengeance executed upon them; and also considering to what a deplorable state this and all the other colonies are reduced, when by an act of Parliament, in which the subjects in America have not a single voice, and without being heard they may be divested of property and deprived of liberty, do upon mature deliberation, resolve

1st. That it is the opinion of this Assembly that a firm and inviolable union of all the colonies, in counsels and measures, is absolutely necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and that for this purpose a convention of representatives from all the colonies ought to be holden in some proper place, as soon as may be, in order to consult upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the said acts, and to establish the rights and liberties of the colonies upon a just and solid foundation.

2d. That the Hon. Stephen Hopkins and the Hon. Samuel Ward, Esqs., be, and they are, hereby appointed by this Assembly to represent the people of this colony in a General Congress of Representatives from the other colonies, at such time and place as shall be agreed upon by the major part of the committee appointed, or to be appointed, by the colonies in general.

3d. That they consult and advise with the representatives of the other colonies who shall meet in such Congress, upon a loyal and dutiful petition and remonstrance to be presented to His Majesty, as the united voice

The first of these is the fact that the American people are not yet fully informed of the extent of the problem of mental illness. It is estimated that there are at least 10 million people in the United States who are suffering from some form of mental illness. This is a staggering figure, and it is one that should be of great concern to all of us.

It is also true that the American people are not yet fully informed of the extent of the problem of mental illness. It is estimated that there are at least 10 million people in the United States who are suffering from some form of mental illness. This is a staggering figure, and it is one that should be of great concern to all of us.

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of his faithful subjects in America; setting forth the grievances they labor under, and praying his gracious interposition for their relief; and that in case a major part of the representatives of all the colonies shall agree upon such petition and remonstrance, they be empowered to sign the same in behalf of this colony.

4th. That they also consult and advise upon all such reasonable and lawful measures as may be expedient for the colonies in an united manner to pursue, in order to procure redress of their grievances and to ascertain and establish their rights and liberties.

5th. That they also endeavor to procure a regular annual convention of representatives from all the colonies, to consider of proper means for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the colonies.

6th. That the speaker of the lower house transmit, as soon as may be, copies of these resolutions to the present or late speakers of the respective houses of representatives of all the British Colonies upon the continent."†

On the 10th of August following the adoption of these resolutions, Governor Joseph Wanton, then "Captain General and Commander-in-Chief over the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America," issued a commission to Messrs. Hopkins and Ward, authorizing and empowering them "to repair to the city of Philadelphia, it being the place agreed upon by the major part of the colonies, and there, in behalf of this colony, to meet and join the commissioners or delegates from the other colonies, in consulting upon proper measures to obtain the repeal of the several acts of the British Parliament for levying taxes upon His Majesty's subjects in America without their consent, and particularly an act lately passed for blocking up the port of Boston; and upon proper measures to establish the rights and liberties of the colonies upon a just and solid foundation, agreeably to the instructions given [them] by the General Assembly."‡

Under the sanction of this commission the Rhode Island delegates proceeded to Philadelphia, and were present at the opening of the Continental Congress, September 5th.

† State Archives.

‡ Ibid.



This body comprised delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, together with delegates from the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, in Delaware. In communicating the proceedings of the Congress to Governor Wanton, the delegates from Rhode Island say :—

“The magnitude of the subjects before the Congress, the peculiar circumstances of delicacy and intricacy in which they are involved, the danger of taking a false step in a matter of such vast importance, and the necessity of adopting every proper measure cannot fail to lengthen the session.

What has been done we hope will be honored with the approbation of the Colony. Much still remains to be done, and however striking the ideas of our friends and connections at home may be after a long absence, we shall cheerfully continue here as long as the service of our country requires it; and we hope faithfully to exert our utmost endeavors in this arduous undertaking for the common good of America.” §

§ State Archives.







11

RHODE ISLAND  
PRIVATEERS  
—AND—  
PRIVATEERSMEN.



WHAT IS A PRIVATEER?—A privateer is a vessel which belongs to a private owner, but sails under a commission granted by a responsible Government, and carrying authority to the grantee to wage war according to the usages of naval warfare against the power specified in the commission. With the commission there are issued instructions for the guidance of the holder; and the Government may require the deposit of a certain sum or the delivery of a bond as security against the violation of those instructions. The Government may further withdraw the commission if it has been misused, or if the instructions it contains have been disregarded; and when such commissions were wont to be issued by this country, our law held that the owners of the vessels commissioned might also be held liable in damages for the consequences of such nuisance or disregard. The war ships of neutral powers are entitled to visit a privateer and demand exhibition of her commission, in order that they may satisfy themselves of its legality; and the reason for this exception to the rule of international law which declares that vessels of war cannot be visited, obviously is, that a privateer does not bear a public character, as a war ship does. All these safeguards have been devised, or at least all these usages have gradually become recognized, by civilized nations, with a view to the prevention of very obvious risks. So long as naval discipline is exercised on board a ship, and so long as her movements are really controlled by the State to which she belongs, some security is afforded that the laws of war, as understood between the belligerent powers, will be observed. But neither of these conditions has been fulfilled in the case of privateers. The annals of the eighteenth century tell terrible tales of the excesses committed by privateers on the high seas. These vessels having got beyond the reach of any control which the war ships of their own country could exercise over them, and being manned often by desperate men, spared neither life nor property, and sometimes made but small discrimination between the ships of the enemy and those of neutral countries.—*Chambers's Journal*.

TURNBULL'S MUSE. Hence. Like most of





AN  
ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

WILLIAM P. SHEFFIELD,

BEFORE THE

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

IN PROVIDENCE,

FEBRUARY 7, A. D., 1882.

WITH NOTES.

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NEWPORT, R. I.  
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1883.

1881

# ADDRESS

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DELIVERED AT THE  
ANNIVERSARY MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF  
PHYSIOLOGISTS

—

AT THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK

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## PREFACE.

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From diversified sources, scattered and often meagre materials, with patient labor and persistent effort I have collected the following story of privateers and privateersmen of Rhode Island. The sources of information are papers in the office of the Secretary of State, copies of commissions, papers connected with the administration of the admiralty jurisdiction (note 1), records of notarial protests, merchants' account books, old papers, letters and newspapers. This information must be imperfect. The list of privateers must be especially imperfect, as there remains no record of the commissions issued, and nothing that at all approximates to a record, even of the doings of the courts of admiralty. My object has, however, been to save something from the existing fragments, that more than is now accessible to the general reader may be brought under his observation in reference to this important part of our local history. The effect of privateering in our colonial wars, and the important part that it bore in our revolution has not been properly estimated. I have added in notes a reference to pirates, not because of any affinity between their vocations than that of privateersmen, and something of the several Canada expeditions and of the capture of Louisburg, because those parts of our history ought to be preserved, and these events are not wholly disconnected with the subject of privateering, for commissions to privateers were sought at times to be used as a cover for piracy, and privateers acted an important part in some of the Canada expeditions. I have added a note to show something of the effect of privateering upon the slave trade. (See n. 11).

THE AUTHOR.

## CHAPTER

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MR. PRESIDENT:

History is the memory of time; the life of the dead; the light-house of the past, and a source of philosophy for the future. The object of this society is to discover, gather, and disseminate the history of Rhode Island, and thus to determine the place the State is to occupy in the galaxy of States around it. The achievements of a people constitute the glory of the State, an incentive and an inspiration to the young, and a solace to the aged. Your work is therefore an exalted one, and the history of Rhode Island is a theme worthy of your highest efforts. As one of those whose lineage has been connected with every period of this history, I come to-night to contribute my mite to the work you have in hand.

No picture, no landscape is perfect which is not made up of light and shade; and no history contains the whole truth which describes only the sunny side of life. It was the terse demand of the stern Cromwell to his artist, to "paint me as I am," and justice requires that we should relate the facts of our history as they occurred. I purpose to enter a neglected field, and to recall, or revive, forgotten, or almost forgotten, facts. Rhode Island priva-

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The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Mayor of the City of New York, for the term ending on the 31st day of December, 1898.

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teers and privateersmen is my subject—the militia of the sea. At the times of which I shall treat we had no public armed vessels, or next to none, and the colonies had to rely alone, or almost alone, upon what then were known as “private men of war.”

April 15, 1649, Roger Williams, of whom Robert Southey said: “When Wales shall find a Fuller to write of its worthies, if Williams is not entitled to the first place in its history, he will have a place among the first,” wrote to John Winthrop of Connecticut, about a prize which had been taken and brought in by a Captain Clarke, which the Dutch contended had been taken in violation of the treaty between England and Spain. The same year (1649) one Bluefield, a Frenchman, brought a prize into Newport. Bluefield purchased Captain Clarke’s frigate to go to the West Indies, but the court hesitated to clear him from port, fearing that his vessel might be employed against American commerce.

In the war between England and the United Provinces in 1652, while the Island of Rhode Island was separated from the Providence Plantations in consequence of the unhappy differences incident to the Coddington commission, the colony was authorized by the British government to issue commissions to private armed vessels, and was directed to use its exertions to offend the persons and property of the enemy. The east end of Long Island was settled by men who were included in the judgment of the General Court of Massachusetts of November 7, 1637, under which Clarke, Coggeshall, Sanford, and their associates, the early settlers of Rhode Island proper, were

DESCRIPTIVE  
BLAUVELT  
OUTERMAN





exiled. The west end of Long Island was inhabited by the Dutch, and the Dutch were on the most friendly terms with the native Indians. John Underhill, who had seen military service in the wars with "the Low Countries" before coming to America, and since his coming had rendered distinguished service to Massachusetts in the Pequot war, was a leader among these Long Island settlers. The Island was divided by a well understood line between the Dutch and the English. A very bitter hatred existed at this time between the Dutch and Indians on the one side, and the Puritans on the other. The latter almost driven to despair applied to the United Colonies for help; but alas! they believed too strongly in a covenant of grace, or too feebly in a covenant of works, to merit any aid from that quarter. The Long Islanders now applied for assistance to Rhode Island. Four privateers were commissioned and manned; one of them was commanded by William Dyer, the husband of Mary, who twenty years after sealed her faith in the doctrines of the Prince of Peace, with a martyr's death on Boston Common. The Long Islanders in addition were authorized to enlist twenty men in Newport, and were given the murderers in the colony who were in custody. The Providence Plantations, either because they did not approve of this war, or of privateering, or for some other cause, did not join in this expedition, but it went forward and fought the Dutch and Indians with desperation and complete success. The privateers took many prizes, the colonies' share of which was the subject of much controversy. It should, perhaps, be said, that the force that went from



Rhode Island found certain persons, inhabitants of the Plantations, dealing with the Dutch and Indians in spirits, guns and ammunition, and what is more remarkable, if our Colonial Records are to be trusted, the persons thus found were acting under a commission from the Lieutenant Governor. This was the war, it should be remembered, in which Blake met Von Tromp in the British channel, and from the first encounter in which the latter went home bearing a broom at the topmast head of his ship, thus indicating that he had swept the English channel of the enemies of his country, yet soon after, by the irony of fate, the haughty Dutchman was by his gallant antagonist sent home defeated and discomfited, thereby affording another evidence that a haughty spirit goeth before a fall.

From this time we will pass over many unimportant events to "King William's war," which ensued upon the revolution of 1688. I have told elsewhere of the cruelties practiced by the French at Block Island, and of the engagement fought by two vessels fitted out at Newport, one under Captain Paine and the other under Captain Godfrey in 1690 off that place. In 1694 the Pelican, from Boston bound to London, under the command of Samuel Daggett, was captured by the French privateer Phillipi and carried to Nantz, in France, where she was condemned and refitted as a privateer under Captain Vaux. In 1696 she was fallen in with by a Rhode Island privateer off the Banks of Newfoundland, and brought into Newport, where she was again condemned. In 1690 the Loyal Stead, of Barbadoes, of which John Parkinson was mas-





ter, being in Newport, was appraised and impressed in the service of the colony to go against the public enemy. It is possible that while Walter Clarke was Governor, that some commissions were issued, not by him, to armed vessels, which had better been withheld; at any rate commissions were issued which caused considerable anxiety in the colony. (See note 2.)

Before 1700 a Quaker family by the name of Wanton came to Rhode Island from Plymouth colony. They were the descendants of Edward Wanton, a Massachusetts officer, who stood under the scaffold at the execution of Mary Dyer, and who, it is said, by her fortitude was forced into Quakerism. This family was destined to act a conspicuous part in the making up of the colonial history of Rhode Island for the then next three-quarters of a century. Joseph and Gideon took up their residence in the disputed territory. The former was a Quaker preacher and was always elected by the inhabitants of the parish at Tiverton in non-concurrence with the Orthodox society, who invariably elected Orthaniel Campbell as parish priest. Gideon afterwards removed to Newport. John and William Wanton, whose portraits hang upon the walls of our Senate chamber among the Governors of the colony, with their Quaker garb not all discarded, were among the ablest and most distinguished and successful privateersmen, considering their surroundings, that ever stood upon a quarter-deck to command a ship. Upon the breaking out of Queen Ann's war, Rhode Island people engaged with alacrity in this department of the service of the crown. How far they were stimulated by the success



of Charles Wager, who had been brought up in Newport, and for brave conduct in conflict with a privateer had been taken into the service of, and who had gained rapid promotion in, the British navy, and had already given promise of the high distinction which he was destined to obtain in the profession he had adopted, cannot now be known.

Now the people of Block Island who suffered so much in King William's war from the French, were determined to look for some one to fight, rather than to wait supinely at home for an enemy to come to them. Bownas, an English Friend, who paid a religious visit to that place in 1702, wrote in his journal that most of the able bodied men on the Island had gone off in privateers; and afterwards they were inclined in the same way, for in 1745 Edward Sands and Nathaniel Littlefield in their petition for soldiers for the defence of the Island, set forth that many of their able bodied men were serving His Majesty on board of privateers. I know of no means of ascertaining the number of privateers that sailed out of Rhode Island during Queen Ann's war, or at any time during the colonial period, for the records, if any records ever existed, have been lost or destroyed, and even during the revolutionary war no records have been preserved, but the facts are left to be gleaned from scattered papers in the office of the Secretary of State; but Fort Ann, now Fort Wolcott, in front of Newport, was built from the Queen's tenths of the prizes during this war. But to recur again to William and John Wanton, they were the leading privateersmen of this period. It is said that while there was a large French privateer on the coast at this time, su-





perior in tonnage and metal to anything in the colony, which was not only annoying the colonial commerce, but was committing depredations upon the farms adjacent to the seashore, that the Wantons determined to bring this adversary to grief, if possible, by stratagem. During a foggy term, which in the spring season, even now sometimes occurs along the southern coast of New England, they put to sea. They knew the cruising grounds of their adversary, and ascertained that she was anchored at Mathers Vineyard. They approached their adversary in the day time within convenient distance, and at night in the yawl of their vessel the two Wantons rowed up under the counter of the French privateer and firmly inserted wedges between the rudder head and the stern-post, and then regained their own vessel, and in the morning hauled up and attacked their adversary on the quarter, where a gun could not be brought to bear upon the attacking party, and thus the French vessel was compelled to surrender. On another occasion another privateer was on the coast inflicting great damage upon the trade of Newport; the Wantons not having a proper vessel or guns of sufficient caliber, filled the hold of a sloop with men armed with cutlasses and small arms, sailed out of the harbor as if they were going on a trading voyage, and when they discovered the privateer, directed their vessel as if they would avoid an adversary, but the latter gave chase and the Wantons were overtaken, and when a cannon shot was thrown across the bow, their vessel bore up, and passing under the stern of the privateer was laid alongside, where she was firmly made fast, the men from



below rushed out and boarded the enemy as rapidly as possible, and proceeded to clear her deck of Frenchmen until the privateer surrendered. I have long lists of the men that went to Nova Scotia and Canada in the various expeditions between 1709 and 1721, and at other times (see note 3), but to describe these expeditions and the work they accomplished would be difficult and tedious, and I will pass on to the Spanish war of 1739, and the Spanish-French war after France in 1744 united her fortunes with those of Spain. At the beginning of this war Richard Patridge, a Friend, was the agent of Rhode Island in England. The boundary controversy between Rhode Island and Massachusetts was then being prosecuted with much interest. Sir Charles Wager (see note 4) who in childhood had been adopted into the family of a Newport captain by the name of John Hull, had now become first lord of the British admiralty, a member of the privy council, and an influential member of Sir Robert Walpole's administration; the colony of Rhode Island relied much in its suit with Massachusetts upon the local knowledge of Wager, and of his ability to understand the merits of its case, and withal on his disposition to do it full justice; and on its part it was at that time especially anxious to give ample evidence of the loyalty of its people to the crown of England, and especially to meet the wishes of "their much respected friend" at the head of the admiralty. Rhode Island wanted "the five towns and the gore" involved in the lawsuit; it wanted more, the prestige of a victory over its old adversary, and a gush of loyalty pervaded the people such as they had





never entertained before, and were never to entertain again. They had received the King's command to go against his enemy, and the King's authority to commission privateers. Newport was then an active commercial place; her merchants were full of enterprise and of the spirit of adventure, and her sailors eager for the strife. Among the merchants of that day in Newport were Godfrey and Evan Malbone, John and Peleg Brown, John Bannister, Sueton Grant, Henry Collins, John Channing, Philip Wilkinson, the Wantons and many others equally intelligent and enterprising. Among the sea captains trained amid privations, accustomed to hazardous adventures, full of enterprise and not unfamiliar with dangers, were Daniel Fones, then on a voyage home from Europe with despatches for the colony, Benjamin Wickham, Charles Davidson, James Allen, Esek Hopkins, William Jackson, Bonfield, Joseph Power, Charles Dyer, Hugh Wentworth, Richard Wolford, Samuel Dunn, John Griffiths, William Hopkins, William Allen, John Dennis, Simeon Potter, Nicholas White, John Ellis, Benjamin Cranstons, Robert Morris, Peter Marshall, Thomas Conklin, Benjamin Carr, George Darricott, Nathaniel Sweeting and many others.

Among the vessels made available were the Tartar, built by the colony, the St. Andrew, the Revenge, the Wentworth, the Triton, the Victory, the Castor, the Polux, the Fame, the Prince Frederick, the Prince William, the Prince Charles of Lorraine, the Young Godfrey, the Cæsar, the Success, the Hunter, the King George, the Defiance, the Hector, the Queen of Hungary, the Duke



of Marlborough, the Brittainia, the Fame, the Queen Elizabeth, the Reprisal, the Jonathan, the Lee Friggott, and many others. (See note 5.)

The loyalty of the colony to the home government was no doubt quickened by the wrongs it had received from the cruisers of France and Spain ; by the prospects of gain, as the result of maratime adventure, by the hope of favor in the issue of the irritating and long pending controversy with Massachusetts, and from the fact that the first lord of the British Admiralty who had the principle direction of the war, was one who had been reared up and trained for the great deeds he had done in their midst ; to stir the best blood in the sailor of that day, he only need be told that Sir Charles Wager, under whom he was fighting, was the man who, when he had taken the rich Spanish galleons before Porto-Bello, had first laid down the rule which gave the common sailor the right to share in the prize money after victory.

The first call for soldiers was for two companies of 100 men each to go as a land force to co-operate with Admiral Vernon in his contemplated attack on Carthagera. William Hopkins, an elder brother of Stephen, was appointed to raise one company in the part of the State other than the Island, and Samuel Dunn, who some thirty years later shot Lieutenant Doddington in the assault upon the Gaspee, was appointed captain of the company to be raised on the Island. These forces were soon raised, and were sent in transports to their destination ; it has been said elsewhere that the Newport company was under the command of Joseph Sheffield, but it was not at the beginning,

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. It is a history of a people who have been able to adapt themselves to a changing world, and who have been able to maintain their principles in the face of adversity.

The second of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants. It is a nation of people who have come from many different parts of the world, and who have brought with them their own customs and traditions. This has made the United States a melting pot of different cultures, and has made it a nation of great diversity. It is this diversity that has made the United States a nation of great strength, and has made it a nation that is able to stand up to the challenges of the world.

The third of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of great freedom. It is a nation of people who have the right to speak their minds, and who have the right to follow their own paths. It is this freedom that has made the United States a nation of great progress, and has made it a nation that is able to lead the world in the future. It is this freedom that has made the United States a nation of great hope, and has made it a nation that is able to overcome all its difficulties.



for Joseph Sheffield was then second in command, captain-lieutenant, but the force went on that unfortunate expedition to find the yellow fever a more formidable enemy than the Spanish arms, for out of the 253 men who left the State but 20 ever returned. December 27, 1740, Governor Ward sent forward in the colony sloop, 53 men to be added to Captain Hopkins company, which made the entire number of 253.

The merchants of Rhode Island had carried on before the war an extensive commerce with the West India islands; consequently the captains who had traded there, and had there been accustomed to meet buccaneers, were familiar with the commerce and the dangers incident to that neighborhood, while other captains who had prosecuted the fisheries along the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador were alike familiar with the commerce and the dangers of that section of the country. These privateers with their crews went out, each in its chosen path; this one to intercept the African cruiser, to capture her cargo of human flesh; that one for the West India trade; a third on the Spanish-main, hoping to encounter some richly laden galleon, while a fourth would go for the banks of Newfoundland to intercept the commerce of the enemy with the Canadas. The hand-to-hand conflicts, the terrible battles fought, the rich prizes they brought in, their stratagems, and their valor, would all be of interest, but the time allotted will only allow me to glance here and there to a few incidents. These adventures, however, during this war, added much to the wealth of the colony. The first privateer was fitted out in August, 1739, by God-



frey Malbone, John Brown and George Wanton; they borrowed the guns to arm her from the colony. Her name I have not ascertained.

*Daniel Fones*, born in Jamestown, March 9, 1713, resided for a time in Newport, afterwards in North Kingstown, which town he represented in the General Assembly, a character which has been much neglected by our historians, makes claim for a moment's consideration. Soon after the outbreak of the war he abandoned the mercantile marine, and in command of the *Tartar* performed stalwart service as a privateersman. Late in 1744 the colony of Massachusetts in its legislature, by a safe majority of one, had determined that the New England colonies should fit out an expedition to go against Louisburg, the strong French fortress on the Island of Cape Breton. Application was made to Rhode Island to co-operate in this enterprise. Sir Charles Wager had gone out of office with the fall of the Walpole ministry in 1742, but the boundary controversy had now been partially determined. Rhode Island did not covet a place under the leadership of Massachusetts, yet it wanted to be loyal to the crown, and was determined to be equal to the occasion, but at that time a very large part of its able-bodied arms-bearing men were at sea in privateers. Yet this expedition was proposed and something effectual was to be done. It was voted to raise three companies of fifty men each, and Godfrey Malbone was authorized to enlist 350 men, to whom the colony paid a bounty of 40 shillings each. These were enlisted and forwarded to the Massachusetts regiments, and were credited on the Massachu-





setts quota ; and in a list of their recruits recently published, may be found many names familiar to the Rhode Island genealogist.

The Tartar was fitted out, and with an hundred men, under command of Captain Fones as a convoy of the Connecticut transports, sailed for the seat of war. On her way she captured the French brigantine Deux Amis, and participated in the taking of the rich India ship Heron. On the voyage they fell in with the French frigate Renommé. Fones contrived to attract and occupy the attention of the enemy, as he was pretending an escape, and led her off from the convoy, for he had full confidence in the sailing qualities of the Tartar, and after thus entertaining the Ronommé for eight hours, by permitting her to indulge the hope that she might overtake the Tartar, he then left his adversary and went on to Louisburg. The Vigilante, a French man-of-war, was also captured and sent to Boston, and 200 men were authorized to be enlisted in Rhode Island, and were enlisted and sent to Boston to man her. While Louisburg was besieged by the ships of Sir Peter Warren in front, and by the army of Sir William Pepperel in the rear, the former received intelligence that up the Bay of Fundy nine hundred French and Indians were about to cross the bay with the view of attacking the forces of Sir William in the rear. On the 5th of June, Captain Fones in the Tartar was directed to take under his command Captains Dcnahoe of Massachusetts, and Beckwith of Connecticut, and drive back the French and Indians. The latter were under the command of M. Marin, and had two sloops, two



schooners and sixty large canoes. They were repulsed with considerable slaughter and driven back. Two of the guns on board of the Tartar at that time, now guard the sides of the fountain at the foot of the Parade in Newport. This expedition of Captain Fones probably decided the fate of Louisburg, for if this large force had fallen upon the rear of the New England soldiers and thus placed them between the fire of the two opposing forces, they would probably have had to have raised the siege; two days later, on June 17, 1745, Louisburg surrendered.

Soon after the surrender of Louisburg three companies of troops of 100 men each, in the brigantine Susan, the Success, and the Beaver arrived at that place. The companies were respectively under the command of Edward Cole, William Smith and Joshua Champlin. Edward Cole was a descendant of that daughter of Ann Hutchinson, who at the time the mother and the rest of her family were slaughtered by the Indians at East Chester, in New York, was carried into captivity, who was after some years ransomed by the Dutch, and by them brought to Aquidnesset and delivered to the white settlers here. He early went to Newport and was engaged in the tanner's trade. Being inclined to a military life he was made a captain of a company, and in the spring of 1745 sailed for Louisburg. He was often employed in Canada, and became a colonel of one of the Rhode Island regiments in that service. He was the ranking officer of the land force sent to Havana by the colony in 1762, where he lost half his men by the yellow fever. In 1759 it is said that he was with Wolfe at the taking of Quebec, and was in





all of these varied services a gallant and accomplished officer. Upon the breaking out of the revolution he followed the flag under which he had fought at Louisburg, before Ticondaroga and Fort William Henry, at Havana and on the plains of Abraham, and organized in Rhode Island a battalion of slaves to fight against the independence of his country, and finally went in exile to Nova Scotia where he died.

In 1745 Godfrey Malbone built two large privateer ships and fitted them for sea, one under the command of Captain Cranston, and the other under Captain Brewer. They were destined to sail in company and cruise on the Spanish-Main. According to the custom of the time their horoscope was cast, and the figure had disclosed that they should sail on Friday, the 24th of December, 1745. It was then a violent snow storm. They sailed fully manned by 400 men, but they were never afterwards heard from. It was said that in this disaster perished the heads of 200 families in Newport.

A year earlier, when Sueton Grant, John Gidley and Nathaniel Coddington were at the wharf examining a privateer about to sail, an explosion took place which caused the death of these gentlemen, and the loss of these eminent citizens to Newport.

May 18th, Fones took a French brig in the bay of Scatari; June 4th, John Griffiths took a sloop laden with provisions; July 25th, James Jordan, in command of a schooner from Rhode Island, arrived at Louisburg; and on the 25th another schooner from the same place arrived, under command of Captain Barton; July 21st, Captain



Fones writes to Governor Gideon Wanton from on board the Tartar at Louisburg harbor, "That he is out of stores of every kind and provisions; that his men are about naked, two of whom had died, and several others were sick; that provisions were extraordinarily high and scarce; rum 24 shillings per gallon, and other necessities of life in proportion."

The next day, July 22, Sir Peter Warren writes Governor Wanton, that "we are obliged to you for letting Captain Fones, who has done us particular good service, stay longer with us; when the service will admit he shall be sent home to you. I also thank you for the men you enlisted for the Vigilante."

Captain Cahoon returned from Louisburg and brought home the sick troops in the Bearer. The other forces remained to garison the surrendered fortress until the next spring, during which time they were subjected to great hardships and privations. The Tartar served as a coast guard during the winter.

Upon Captain Fones' return to Rhode Island he was engaged at times in privateering, and then in the mercantile marine. On the night of the 5th of March, 1751, while in the Prince Frederick, a vessel which, as a privateer, had done rough work, when off the back side of Long Island he encountered a cold and terrible snow storm which continued to the 23d, on the night of which day he was wrecked on the southwest part of Block Island.

At Louisburg there was great suffering among the troops. Richard Hoyle, commissary, wrote Dec. 20, 1745, from that place, that it was very sickly and that many





were dying among them; that Captain Smith had been sick 16 days, and was then a very sick man; Captain Cole had lost 26 of his men, Captain Smith 19, and two had been lost from the company of Captain Champlin.

September 23, 1745, Sir William Pepperell wrote to Gov. Wanton, requesting him to send forward recruits to supply deficiencies in the military force of the colony at Louisburg.

Shortly before the siege of Louisburg it should be remembered, in considering the part which Rhode Island took in the wars of that period, that Col. John Cranston had led a force against Port Royal. The colony had furnished for that service, 100 men on the Tartar, 200 men to man the Vigilante, and 300 men in three companies, with 350 men enlisted by Malbone; in all 950 men.

But to recur to the subject which we have immediately under consideration: September the 7th, 1744, Simeon Potter, a native of Bristol, sailed from Newport in the Prince Charles of Lorraine, belonging to Sueton Grant, Peleg Brown, Nathaniel Coddington, Jr.; and Captain Potter had a Newport man by the name of Daniel Vaughn for his lieutenant, and a young man destined to be the founder of a well known Rhode Island family, whose name was Mark Anthony DeWolf, was Captain Potter's clerk. For a half century after this, Captain Potter was destined to take a conspicuous part in the affairs of Rhode Island. The Prince Charles of Lorraine was a duly commissioned privateer, and the paper discovered by Bishop Kip in a convent in California, and published by him, containing the report of a Catholic priest to his Bishop, pre-



sents in a very striking light a one-sided and partial view of the nature and result of the adventure of Captain Potter on this cruise; while the investigations made upon the complaint of the United Provinces and ordered by the British government in the Court of Admiralty, the record of which remains on the files in the office of the Secretary of State, presents the other side; and the record of a law suit brought by Mrs. Grant, the widow of Sueton Grant, against Captain Potter in behalf of her husband's estate, and the crew of the privateer, to recover their share of the prizes and prize money, presents still another part of this history. There can be no doubt that in this cruise Captain Potter and his command invaded and desolated 1500 miles of the enemy's territory; that on the Spanish-Main in his march, he visited churches and dwellings, and brought from the field of his exploits large amounts of booty, or that the enemy alleged that in this he violated the laws of civilized warfare, but the admiralty judge (Strengerfield) found nothing in the case, but that Captain Potter had been more enterprising and accomplished more in his majesty's service considering the means at his disposal, than any other of his majesty's subjects.

The action at law arose out of the fact that Captain Potter, acting upon his own motion, put up the plunder for sale in the presence of a few sea captains and became its purchaser on his own account. This caused great dissatisfaction among the crew, and his principal owner being killed by an accident to which I have referred, the widow took part with the sailors and brought the action,





alleging this sale of the plunder to be void, and sought to recover their due share of the result of the cruise. After Captain Potter abandoned privateering he became a member in turn of each house of the General Assembly, a successful merchant, and was always a resolute and determined man, given alike to charity and to controversy; a violent Whig, and an Episcopalian, yet he knocked down the Episcopal parson, a Tory, in the streets of Bristol; he gave liberally in charity to Bristol, and in Newport he endowed a school for the poor, yet he kept Matthew Watson, an aged man with broken fortune, in prison four years, upon a disputed claim. He lived to the great age of 91, and died Feb. 21, 1806, in the town of Swansea, leaving his large fortune to his sisters, one of whom married Mark Anthony DeWolf, his first clerk in the Prince Charles of Lorraine. DeWolfe afterwards, in 1756, commanded the privateer Roby. Capt. Potter's vessel, after he left her, was still in the service, until one cold stormy December night in 1748, amid hardships and suffering among her crew, while she was seeking her home port, she struck on the rocks on the east side of Seaconet Point and was wrecked. Happily the officers and crew, with the exception of one negro and perhaps one other man, were saved, and among her officers was Mark Anthony DeWolf.

It has been said, but I think upon insufficient evidence, or perhaps against the evidence, that Captain Potter was one of the party that attacked the Gaspee.

In addition to the other forces from the colony to go against Louisburg, the merchants of Newport, at an ex-



pense of £8000, fitted out an armed brig. I refer to these details because it has often been intimated by our neighbors that Rhode Island in that affair failed of coming up to the full measure of its duty. In estimating this charge we are to remember that the population of the colony was about 30,000; the "five towns and the gore" were not then included in our numbers, and that then this colony had perhaps as large a number of privateers at sea as all of the other colonies. Drake in his history of this war, commenting on the Report of Governor Shirley, says that "probably Rhode Island was then hardly regarded as a Christian community, yet the other colonies were glad enough of its help in fighting the French and Indians."

The fitting out of the expedition to garrison Port-Royal which sailed from Newport, November 4, 1746, and its terrible shipwreck at Martha's Vineyard on the 19th, and the loss of vessels, materials of war, and of men, belongs to this period of our history, but the details of this unfortunate adventure are quite accessible, and I will not narrate them.

The full measure of the success of our privateers during this period, cannot be ascertained without examining the records of the various admiralty courts of the British West India Islands, of the Bermudas, the Carolinas, New York, and of Massachusetts, and the records of the various notaries of France and Spain and of their colonies. (See note 6.)

Something of the character of the privateers and privateersmen of that time may be inferred from a contemporaneous description of one of them taken from the Boston





Post Boy ; John Dennis, in the *Defiance*. (See note 7.) It says: "The brave Captain Dennis, commander of a Rhode Island privateer, has lately taken several French privateers in the West Indies, the last of which of 14 guns and 140 men was fitted out in an extraordinary manner to take Captain Dennis, and after a smart engagement of four hours, in which Captain Dennis was slightly wounded, she was taken and carried into St. Kitts, where Captain Dennis was highly caressed by the general and other gentlemen of the Island, who, as an acknowledgment of his eminent services, presented him with a golden oar and 500 pistoles. The French privateer was immediately sold and sent out upon a cruise against the enemy."

Before this, Captain Dennis had been involved in a very different affair. He, in company with a New York privateer, had captured a French vessel in the West Indies, on board of which were a considerable number of *creoles* which were sent north and sold by him as slaves. After this capture the French re-captured one of Dennis' prizes and took the prize crew, consisting of John Green, R. Monroe, Ben. Easterbrooks, Erasmus Phillips, Alex. Finley, Guilford, Chanler, Henry Jefferson, Thomas Sweet, Jacob Billit, John Kinney, John Hease, James Miller, Sylvester Morrison, James Wheeler, Joseph Berto, Thomas Jones, Jas. Gregg, Mark Tillinghast and London Hatch, and put them in the chain gang at Havana. This created a great commotion in the colony, and put the colony to the expense and trouble of collecting and returning the free persons which Dennis had captured and sold as slaves.



Captain Dennis was in many vessels and made many captures. In 1756 he sailed in command of "The Foÿ," a large new vessel, fitted for the adventurous business in which he was engaged, but from that voyage he has never returned.

After the expedition for Annapolis, Royal was wrecked on the 19th of November, 1746, and after the beginning of winter Governor Shirley applied to Rhode Island to fit out an expedition by the way of Hudson River to go against Crown Point. Taking into consideration the fact of the enfeebled condition of the soldiers who had been shipwrecked, their loss by sickness and death, and the fact that the Hudson River was not navigable at that season, the colony declined to engage in that enterprise, as it regarded it as being impracticable. Added to these reasons may be given that set forth in the letter of Gov. Greene to Sir Peter Warren, in July, 1746, that then there were out, and being fitted out in the colony, three ships, 20 guns each, one snow, and 4 brigantines, 16 guns each, four sloops, 12 guns each, and that the manning of these vessels greatly exhaust the number of men fit for His Majesty's service. This expedition was soon abandoned by Massachusetts.

At the June session, 1746, the Assembly directed three companies (300 men) to be raised to go against Canada. They were to go first to Louisburg, then to Quebec. These companies were under the command of Lieutenant Col. Kinnicut, and the captains were Cole, Rice, and Joshua Sayer. They sailed in August under convoy of





the Tartar, and in transports commanded by John Beard, Randall Eldred and Robert Durfee.

The adventures in the privateer service are full of romance. The *St. Andrews*, one of the first privateers fitted out, went ashore on the Florida Keys; there four of her men were taken prisoners and carried off to Havana, where they remained 14 months, and then they were sent under a flag of truce to New Providence, and from the latter place they were sent home. The *King George*, of which Peter Marshall was the commander, was the subject of a terrible shipwreck at Cape Hatteras, on the coast of North Carolina, in 1750. Marshall lost one of his limbs, and by a paralysis of the spine was disabled for life. Both the vessel and her commander had seen much service in the then late war.

April 19, 1748, O. S., the treaty of Aix La Chapellè was signed by England and France, and some time after, news of the treaty was transmitted to America. This treaty, however, was but a truce, at least so far as it affected the colonies, for as early as 1753 they were warned that the French in Canada were instigating the Indians to commit acts of hostility against the colonists, and the next year the high contracting parties were again engaged in open war; a war in the prosecution of which Rhode Island made great sacrifices and acted a conspicuous part. The old privateers were recalled from the African, or the West India trade, and from the Spanish-Main, and were refitted often under the direction of their old commanders, and were sent forth against their old enemy, and a large land force was sent into Canada to be

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and expansion. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these immigrants. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these free men. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of law, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these laws. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these peace. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these justice. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of liberty, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these liberty. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of equality, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these equality. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these unity. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these progress.

kept good during the seven years' war, and Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Fort William Henry and Quebec were names to be made sadly familiar as associated with the losses of valiant lives by means of Canada snows and frosts and Indian tomahawks and scalping knives, in Rhode Island households. In this war between 1755 and 1758, the colony expended . . . . . £139,540.12

In addition for the Colony Brig, . . . . . 19,133.13

For Fort George, . . . . . 9,501.13

Between this time and Feb 11th, 1763, when Joseph Brown, the old town sergeant of Newport, by beat of drum published the proclamation of peace through the streets, squares and lanes of the ancient capital, this sum was marvellously augmented.

It is, perhaps, a little remarkable that some of the privateers who were among the earliest to embark in the old Spanish war and who continued in the service throughout that war, and the French and Spanish war, such as the *Defiance*, the *Success*, the *Reprisal*, and some others, were among the earliest to embark and the last to abandon the field in the seven years' war; and indeed, some of them continued as privateers during the entire period of the revolution. In my note books I have long lists of privateers (see note 8), of prizes taken, and of vessels lost to our mercantile marine during these periods. The story of the life of either the *Revenge*, the *Defiance*, the *Success*, and of their commanders, would fill a volume and make an entertaining romance of the sea. The practice was to capture a prize, have it condemned, and if adapted for the service, to have the prize fitted and commissioned





as a privateer, and in this way the number of their cruisers was greatly augmented. The most vulnerable point in the commerce of our own colony at this time was the slave trade (see note 9). There were more than fifty privateers commissioned out of this colony in that war. Many of the vessels engaged in the commerce of the colony went to the West Indies for molasses of and sugar, then took from Newport a cargo to the coast Africa, generally of rum, where a cargo of slaves was obtained, which was carried to the West Indies for sale. The course of this trade was well understood by the enemy, and a cargo of slaves to the French of that time was the most coveted prize afforded by our commerce. Let me refer to a single incident as a specimen case, as showing the embarrassments attending commerce at this time. It is the case of one who was afterwards governor of the colony, and the facts are verified as follows, to wit:

"I, Joseph Wanton, being one of the people called Quakers, and conscientiously scrupulous about taking an oath upon solemn affirmation, say that on the 1st day of the month commonly called April, A. D. 1758, I sailed from Newport in the *Snow*, King of Prussia, with a cargo of 124 hogsheads of rum, 20 barrels of rum, and other cargo; that on the 20th day of the month called May, I made Cape Mount on the west coast of Africa; that I ran down the coast and traded until I arrived at Annamibo, where, while at anchor, on the 23d day of the month called July, when I had on board 54 slaves, 20 ounces of gold-dust, and 65 hogsheads of rum, I was taken by a French privateer of 60 guns, fitted out of Bordeaux,

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these immigrants. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these free men. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of law, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these laws. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these peace.

The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these progress. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these justice. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of liberty, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these liberty. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of equality, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these equality. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these unity.

called LeCompte de St. Florentine, having on board between 500 and 600 men, while my vessel had but 3 small pieces and 11 men."

Many other narratives scarcely less singular, and much more distressing in their incidents, incumber many pages of my note books. Wanton was left destitute on the coast of Africa, and soon after two other Newport vessels with their cargoes were captured at the same place. One of the vessels was given to a native African Prince, and was by him turned over to the three crews, who, after a time returned home in her. I have here a list of many vessels captured from Newport during this war, many of them with cargoes; some of them with cargoes of slaves. (See note 10.) In my note books is a longer list of vessels captured from the enemy by our privateers. It is said that Commodore Abraham Whipple captured 23 prizes in one cruise in 1759 and 1760, and at one time in the revolution it is said that his prizes amounted to \$1,000,000. But I will not weary you with these details. The revolution is the more interesting period of our history. Our commerce had been much interrupted by the prohibitions of trade with the French West Indies, and our seamen greatly irritated by the English cruisers which resorted to the Narragansett Bay for some years before the breaking out of the war, and it will not be denied that revenge as well as patriotism stimulated our gallant tars to duty. During this war the Governor of Rhode Island issued near 200 privateer commissions (see note 11), and no doubt it was a great inducement to the British to take and hold Newport, that thereby they

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. It is a history of a people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The second fact is that the United States is a nation of immigrants. It is a nation of people who have come from many different parts of the world, and who have brought with them their own customs, languages, and religions. This has made the United States a very diverse nation, and it has also made it a very strong nation. The people of the United States have been able to work together and to build a great nation out of many different parts.

The third fact is that the United States is a nation of freedom. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.



could deprive the privateers of the facilities Narragansett Bay afforded for the prosecution of these hazardous enterprises. The old vessels like the *Revenge* and the *Defiance* had outlived their earliest commanders, but under their new officers they were among the earliest to show their broad sides in defiance to the enemies of their country. The former, under the command of one of her old officers who had been in the land force which fared so hard under Admiral Vernon before Carthagena, and who upon his return from that expedition was second in command of the vessel which was destined to be identified with his fortunes for forty years. But details will weary you. Esek Hopkins had commanded a privateer in the French war. John Trevett, who in 1786 was to be the plaintiff in the celebrated case of *Trevett vs. Weeden*, was with him, and led one of the parties that went to attack the fort at New Providence. John Paul Jones was a lieutenant of the *Providence*, of Providence; he was afterwards given command in the Continental navy of an expedition against the commerce and coasts of Canada. He sought to enlist men in Newport, but the privateer service was more attractive, and he was delayed in getting a sufficient number. This was in November, 1776. The privateer *Eagle*, Isaac Field, master, sailed from Newport the day previous and anchored at Tarpaulin Cove. Jones was in the *Alfred*, and went out and down to the Vineyard, and laid the *Alfred* alongside of the *Eagle*, and then sent his officers on board the latter vessel and took from her by force 24 men to make up the *Alfred's* complement, and then went on his cruise.



George W. Babcock, an inhabitant of South Kingstown, was in the Mifflin, which he claimed was the fastest vessel afloat. He was a bold and enterprising man, and struck out from the beaten track of privateers; he made for the North Sea, and there purposed to beard the British lion in his den; and off Hull he made havoc with the commerce of that port, until at last a vessel was fitted out on purpose to capture him; perhaps her name was the Glasgow. The Mifflin had been long at sea and her bottom was foul, which greatly impeded her sailing qualities. Her force had been weakened by the manning of his prizes, and his situation was critical. If he attempted to run he might be overtaken; if he fought, he had to encounter a greatly superior force, but he was equal to the occasion. He summoned his crew to take their advice; it was unanimous to fight. His enemy came up, and challenged him with a shot, when he struck his colors, came up under the stern of the British vessel, and as it was then in his power to rake her fore and aft, he hoisted his colors and let the enemy have a broadside which put him *hors du combat*, but unhappily Babcock, on his way home, was captured with two valuable prizes by a British man-of-war, and carried into Charleston, then in possession of the British. Freeman Perry, the father of Commodore Oliver H. Perry, was then in the Mifflin.

Oliver Read was another privateersman. Upon the arrival of the news of the conflict at Lexington and Concord, Read volunteered to go with the companies from Newport to the defence of Massachusetts. He did not however, long remain about Boston. There was not ani-

The first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This discovery led to a great influx of people into California, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The second was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Nevada, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The third was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Colorado, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The fourth was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Idaho, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The fifth was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Montana, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The sixth was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1863. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Wyoming, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The seventh was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1864. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Utah, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The eighth was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1865. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Arizona, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The ninth was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1866. This discovery led to a great influx of people into New Mexico, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The tenth was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1867. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Texas, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union.



mation enough in the army life to satisfy his spirit of adventure ; he returned home and engaged in the service of the colony in a gun-boat, and afterwards in a subordinate office on board of a privateer. While the British were in possession of Newport, they fitted out two privateers, manned by loyalists, one under the command of Stanton Hazard, and the other under the command of a man by the name of Crandall. Read had succeeded to the command of a vessel. Crandall had taken him unawares and captured him. Crandall took his prisoners to Walla-Bout Bay and put them on board the Jersey prison-ship. The officers of the ship filed off on either side, with Crandall among them, to allow the prisoners to pass through. As Read passed Crandall, he glanced at him, and said in a subdued but angry tone ; "If I am ever out of this there will be a short life for one of us." Read formed acquaintances there ; reliable men whom he could trust, and a plan of escape was agreed upon. One afternoon, late, when it had already begun to grow dark, in the midst of a winter snow storm, the supply boat had come off and was at the side of the ship. The crew had nearly all got on board, when Read and his party, at a given signal, lowered themselves into the boat, and relieved the boat of that part of the crew which remained, in the shortest possible way, and pushed off. Read and his party was fired at without effect, and the boat that was lowered did not find them. Read landed on Long Island, and after some difficulty found his way to Rhode Island, where in a good vessel he was again pursuing his favorite vocation. Cruising up near Long Island he saw a vessel, and he had been



too familiar with her quarter-deck not to know her, though she had been considerably disguised. He suspected that Crandall was there, and the coveted opportunity to meet him was at hand. They met, and after a hard fight Read captured his adversary, and when he boarded his prize he beheld the dead and mangled body of Crandall, his old enemy, upon the deck. It is said that this exhibition melted to tears the hard heart of the privateersman. Captain John Dring, a native of Newport, wrote a narrative of his experience on board the Jersey prison-ship.

Among the owners of the privateers of the revolution were—John and Nicholas Brown, Clarke & Nightingale, Jacob and Griffin Greene, Governor Nicholas Cooke, Silas Casey and many others. Among the captains were brave, brusk men, like John Grimes, John Garzia, William Dennis, Joseph Sheffield, Job Pierce, of Greenwich, Samuel Dunn, Jr., and many others. It has been said that Dennis sailed in command of twenty different privateers during the war. Every vessel had to have a new captain almost every cruise, for if prizes were taken, the captain of necessity would have to remain to attend to their condemnation, and to the receipt and distribution of the prize money. Among the more cultivated men who commanded privateers was Robert Elliott, Israel Ambrose, John Updike, Joseph Olney, William Rhodes, and Elijah F. Payne; and then among the rough men engaged in this rough work was Capt. Samuel Jeffers, who was once captured, and his captors had the indiscretion to leave him and two of his men, as prisoners, on board his vessel in charge of a prize crew. Jeffers soon won in a degree the confidence





of the prize master, and one morning it so happened that the prize-master and his officers were below at breakfast, thinking no harm; they had left Jeffers and his men on deck. As soon as the master was busy at breakfast the companion way was closed and the men below were fastened down; then the men left on deck were soon overboard, and Jeffers was in command, the helm was hard down, and the vessel on her way to her old home, where Jeffers brought her with his prisoners in safety. (For list of privateers in revolution see note 9. For list of some of the captures, see note 12.)

I have scarcely done more than to cast here and there a glance into the fertile subject of the privateers and privateersmen of Rhode Island, but have said nothing of the privateers engaged in the last war with England. Judge these men not harshly; they were engaged in war, and war in all its forms is barbaric; it is strife, rapine, plunder, destruction. Civilization is peace, based on the doctrines of the Prince of Peace. War, however, may be a means of protection and of civilization; schooled in its hard lessons men may exert themselves to avoid it. A defensive war is a necessary war to the extent of its necessity for defence. From the beginning our country in its growth and development has received opposition—first from the Indian savages, then from the Dutch, the French, the Spaniards, and lastly from England, our common mother, but under the good Providence of God it has been defended, preserved and maintained, and has withstood all assaults from without and from within.

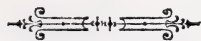


It is sometimes asked, why has Rhode Island so large a representation in the American Senate? Why so large a stake in the American Union? I answer that our fathers earned this place by their toil, their sufferings, their treasure, and their valor, and I have mentioned here in what way. If the inquiry comes from Maine, once a part of Massachusetts, I call their attention to Annapolis Royal; to Louisburg and the mouth of the St. Lawrence, where Rhode Island men in early colonial times did good work in the defence of ancient Pemequid. If it comes from the great State of New York, I will point them to the graves of Rhode Island men who were frozen in the snows of its northern frontier, to Lake George Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Quebec, where they struggled and toiled to preserve New York for the American Union. If this inquiry comes from Ohio, Michigan, or the great Northwest, I will tell them to go to the public square in Cleveland, and in view of the marble statue which crowns that public resort, to study the lesson that statue inculcates; how a youthful hero, with his neighbors and friends, all trained for service to a greater or less extent, by the courage and deeds of the men whose careers we have been considering, and who in mid-winter made their way to Lake Erie, and cut down the forest trees upon its borders, and launched them upon the lake, and manned their vessels and went out to meet and to conquer men who had been of the victors under the immortal Nelson at Trafalgar; the men who in other days saved their fathers and their mothers alike from British rapacity and from the tomahawks and scalping knives of Indian bar-





barity. If men from the South upbraid us for our power, we tell them to go to the grave of Greene, in a far southern city, and there learn in the light of their own history what is our title to our great stake in the Union. The answer to these inquiries will not be audible, but not the less potent the muse of history will fill the soul and awe the inquirer to silence. I might ask these southern men, but no! When an injury has been forgiven let it be blotted out forever. A brave man will never recall an injury which he has pardoned, unless forced to do so by him to whom the pardon has been given.





## APPENDIX.

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[Note 1.]

### COURT OF ADMIRALTY.

In 1694 the colony of Rhode Island instituted a Court of Admiralty.

In 1697 the King of England appointed Peleg Sanford, of Newport, Admiralty Judge for the colony.

Judge Sanford died in 1701.

Nathaniel Byfield was acting as judge in admiralty in 1705, and probably acted from soon after the death of Sanford.

John Menzies was appointed judge in admiralty for the colony, Dec. 26, 1715.

In October, 1728, Col. William Whiting was appointed by the General Assembly, Admiralty judge, in place of John Menzies, deceased.

Nathaniel Byfield was again in office, for in May, 1729, he having died, George Dunbar, of Newport, who had been deputy judge under Byfield, was by the General Assembly authorized to act until a judge arrived from England.

In 1735 the common law courts were authorized to issue writs of prohibition against the court of admiralty.

Samuel Pemberton was appointed a judge in admiralty for the colony from March 22, 1741.

Pemberton was superseded by the appointment of Leonard Lochmere from August 24, 1741.

William Strengerfield was appointed judge from December 6, 1746.

Chambers Russell was appointed judge September 15, 1747.

Robert Lightfoot was appointed from April 20. 1753.





John Andrews was Judge from 1761 to after 1763; probably until 1768.

Robert Auchmutty was judge from October 17, 1768.

In March, 1776, the General Assembly of the colony instituted a court for the trial of marine causes. This court had jurisdiction of all captures. The judge was to sit with a jury to try questions of fact, and to hold his office for one year.

At the same session John Foster was elected judge of the court. He was re-elected until 1785, or later.

July 3, 1776, S. Curwin, an American loyalist in England, says: "I visited Burnhill Fields burying-ground to view the grave of Chambers Russell, and there I passed by the tomb of John Bunyan.

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[Note 2.]

#### PIRATES.

In 1699 the ship *Adventure*, from London for Borneo, was taken possession of by the boatswain and crew, and the captain and superior officers were set adrift in a boat. The ship crossed the Atlantic and arrived off Block Island, destined for Gardner's Bay. Near the east end of Long Island, then having a pilot on board, the piratical leaders took the money from the ship, and took the ship's boat and went to New London. The wind favoring, the ship went to Block Island, and not to Gardner's Bay. Two of the crew went from the Island to Newport, and purchased a sloop and went back to the Island and took out part of the cargo, after which the ship and cargo were abandoned to be plundered by whoever chose to engage in such nefarious work. Vessels went from Newport, and no doubt but the Block Islanders participated in the work of plunder. Notice of the affair was sent home to England, and orders were returned to arrest the pirates, and the persons engaged in plundering the ship, and to send them to England for trial. Some of the pirates were arrested in Rhode Island, some in Connecticut, and others in Massachusetts, and these were sent to England, where they were tried and executed.

In 1718 a sloop and goods brought in by pirates were secured. On August 12, of that year, £112.8 was allowed to William Coddington, Samuel Green, Nathaniel Hatch and Seth Handy, for securing the vessel and goods brought in by the pirates.

In 1722, John Hance had his sloop taken by pirates. The pirates anchored the sloop off Block Island. The Islanders brought



her into Newport and wanted, £14 salvage. but the Assembly when appealed to thought this too much and allowed but £7.

In 1723 two pirate sloops, the *Ranger* and the *Fortune*, were captured by the British ship *Greyhound*, Capt. Solger, and were brought into Newport. The pirates were tried, and 26 of them were convicted, and on the 19th of July, that year, were executed at Gravelly Point and were buried between the ebb and flow of the tide at the north end of Goat Island.

In 1738 Peter Legrand, Peter Jesseau and Francis Boudean, Frenchmen, were convicted of piracy and murder on the high-seas, and were severally executed at Bull's Point, in Newport, between the flux and reflux of the sea, November 3d of that year.

July 23d, 1760, Samuel Parks and Benjamin Hawkins were tried and convicted of piracy in Newport. They were executed Aug. 21, 1760.

#### THOMAS TEW.

Thomas Tew was a noted pirate. He applied to Governor John Easton in 1694, for a privateer commission, and offered the Governor a bribe of £500 for it, and a promise that he would go where the Governor would never hear of him again, but the Governor was inflexible and refused the commission. Captain Tew then went to Bermuda and obtained a commission to go against a French factory at Goree, on the coast of Africa, near the mouth of the Gambia river. After he got to sea, he called his crew together, and after explaining to them the inutility of the proposed cruise, he suggested to them the propriety of hoisting the black flag and cruising on the coast of Madagascar, and about the entrance to the Red Sea. This suggestion was adopted. Here he fell in with the noted pirate Mission, and they established a colony at Madagascar, where they built vessels, wharves and forts, and cultivated the lands for supplies, and from which they went forth on their piratical forays; took many rich prizes, and accumulated great wealth; successfully resisted the attacks of the Portuguese on their fort. They abolished slavery in their colony and lived on good terms with the natives. Tew was chief officer of the colony under the title of admiral. He, after a long time, left the colony and came home to Newport, from which place he remitted to the owners of the vessel in which he sailed, fourteen times the cost of their adventure. He at one time captured from the *Mogul*, a ship having on board 1600 soldiers and marines, and treasure, so





that each of Tew's men shared \$15,000. See *His. Pirate*, pp. 72-86—3. R. I. Col. Records, 341.

Tew probably left no descendants, for there is an interval of thirty years in which I have not found his name upon the record.

The *New England Courant*, a newspaper published in Boston, June 17, 1722, contains an article dated Newport, R. I., June 7, 1722, containing an account of a pirate off Block Island, and of the prompt steps taken at Newport to send out two vessels to cruise against him. The article concludes with this remark, "We are advised from Boston, that the government of Massachusetts are fitting out a ship to go after the pirates, to be commanded by Capt. Peter Papillon, and 'tis thought he will sail sometime this month, wind and weather permitting."

June 12, the Council of Massachusetts had this paper before them, and in view of its contents "ordered that the publisher of said paper be forthwith sent for to answer for the same," and accordingly James Franklyn, of Boston, printer, was sent for and examined, and he owned that he had published the said paper, whereupon it was resolved that the publication of the said paragraph was a high affront to this government, and the sheriff of the county of Suffolk was forthwith ordered to commit to the gaol in Boston the body of the said Franklyn, and the order was immediately executed.

June 20, 1722, upon the certificate of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, that Franklyn was suffering in his health from his confinement, and the petition of Franklyn expressing his great sorrow for his act, he was given the liberty of the gaol yard upon his giving security to faithfully abide there.

July 5, 1722, the *New England Courant*, Franklin's paper, was suppressed, unless Franklyn would enter into bonds in £100 to be of good behavior, and before publishing his paper to submit it to the scrutiny of the Secretary, and only to publish it upon his approval. The paper was continued until Feb. 11, 1723, when it was published under the name of Benjamin Franklin, the brother of James, and then in the employ of the latter.

The issue of July 16, 1722, after James Franklin had got liberated from his four weeks' imprisonment, had the following heading, viz.:

"And then, after they had anathematized and cursed a man 15



the Devil, and the Devil did not, or would not, take him, then to make the Sheriff and the Jaylor to take the Devil's leavings."

Franklin did not get on well with the Massachusetts authorities, and in 1727 he came to Newport, where he established himself in the printing business, and carried it on until his death. After his decease his widow and his son James successively engaged in the printing business, and in 1758 they established the Newport Mercury. For a time Mrs. Franklin was in partnership in business with Samuel Hall.

The pirates referred to in the beginning of this paper were those that took the sloop of John Hance, and after plundering her anchored her several leagues from the shore off Block Island.

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[Note 3.]

#### COLONIAL EXPEDITIONS.

In 1710 Rhode Island Colony sent Port Royal 156 soldiers.

In 1711 bought vessel and sent 179 soldiers to Canada.

In 1721 they sent 117 men to Canada.

In 1741, expedition to Carthagenia, 220 men.

In 1745, expeditions against Louisburg, elsewhere referred to.

In 1754 sent 800 men to Crown Point, 200 above quota. There returned in autumn of 1755 but 72.

In 1756 sent 500 men to Crown Point, but the expedition was abandoned and they returned before reaching their destination.

In 1757 built a transport of 120 tons and sent to Canada 440 men.

1758 Pitt was at the head of affairs and the colony sent 1000 men to Canada.

In 1759 and 1760 it sent to Canada 1000 men in each year.

In 1761 Rhode Island had 393 men in the field and sent forward 84 recruits

In 1762, under Col. Christopher Hargil, it sent 262 men to Havana. Giles Russell commanded one company of the men. They sailed from Newport, August 13, 1762.

#### IN THE REVOLUTION.

Rhode Island had the following soldiers in the regular army, in addition to the militia, which was almost constantly in employ-





ment, or in expectation of employment, and in addition to Col. Archibald Carr's regiment:

YEAR.	MEN.
1775	1198
1776	798
1777	546
1778	630
1779	507
1780	915
1781	464
1782	481
1783	372

The British troops took formal possession of the Island of Rhode Island, Dec. 8, 1776. They abandoned the Island Oct. 28, 1779—retained possession 2 years, 10 months and 20 days.

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[Note 4.]

SIR CHARLES WAGER.

Sir Charles Wager was the son of Charles and Prudence (Goodson) Wager. His father was an officer in the British navy and joined his father-in-law, Admiral William Goodson, in the mediatory letter, with a view to the restoration of Charles II in 1659. Charles Wager, senior, served with honor to himself and to the advantage of his country in the British navy during the commonwealth and after the restoration of the Stuarts.

Admiral Goodson was in command under Blake as rear admiral of the Blue in the battles with the Dutch in the memorable years of 1652 and 1653. He was admiral under Penn at the taking of Jamaica in 1655, and was left in command of that station when Penn returned. In 1657 he superseded Sir John Lawson as vice admiral of England—was dismissed the service in 1662, upon the restoration of the Stuarts; his will was dated April 6, 1667, and proved May 18, 1678. In his will he expressed the desire "to be buried among the people called Quakers." Penn says of him, that "nobody was more stout or a better seaman." He left two children—Prudence, who married Charles Wager, and another daughter who married John Penn, probably the son of Captain John Penn, Blake's lieutenant who was slain in the battle with the Dutch September 28, 1652. Their son George served



with great distinction afterwards under Admiral Sir Charles Wager, and another son, Admiral Charles Wager Penn, was father of the late John Childs Penn, admiral of the Blue.

Charles Wager, senior, married January 29, 1663, and died Feb. 1, 1666, leaving a son Charles and a daughter Prudence, who married a Bolton. His widow, Prudence Goodson Wager, married a second time to Alexander Parker, an eminent London merchant, 2d mo. 8th, 1669. Parker was a member of the Society of Friends and was often the traveling companion of George Fox, and by his will of 1688 Prudence Wager Bolton was named his trustee and executrix. She was the sister of Sir Charles. Parker left other children. Parker was largely interested in lands in Pennsylvania, and in an unpublished letter he says—20th 9th mo. 1686: "I showed him (William Penn then in London) a letter also, which I lately received from my son Charles Wager, giving me account that he had taken up my city lot in Philadelphia and had left near £60 in money and goods to build a little brick house and cellar on the front, &c., &c., and William Penn told me that 20 feet front was worth 20 guineas, but Charles writes more." This shows that Wager was temporarily in Philadelphia in 1686; probably Captain John Hull, with whom he then was, was at that time carrying Quaker emigrants to Pennsylvania.

Sir Charles Wager married Martha Earning, daughter of Anthony Earning of Limehouse, in Middlesex, England. She died April 7, 1748, and her will was dated the 26th of the February previous. Wager died without issue.

Sir Charles Wager was born at Loo, in the parish of Talland, Cornwall, England, Oct. 28, 1666. His father died 24th of the preceding February, at Deal, probably of the plague. Sir Charles was married Dec. 7, 1691, to Martha Earning. He afterwards represented St. Loo in Parliament. He died at Stanley-house in Chelsea ———, 1743. He was the patron of Captain Christopher Middleton in his arctic expedition in 1741-2, and Wager Bay, Wager River, and Wager Straights derive their names from this fact. He originated the voyage of Ansen around the world, and the unfortunate ship in which that voyage was undertaken bore the surname of the patron. The Wager, the ship referred to, was wrecked on the coast of Patagonia, and it is said by Wraxall that the younger Pitt said, that he had never heard of Biron's narrative of this shipwreck, a book which was in every circulating library, which has been often repeated to show the ig-





norance of men in high position, and of great intelligence, of events familiar to the great masses of the people.

Charles Wager the father of him who was afterwards Sir Charles, died poor, and the son was adopted by his kinsman, John Hull, a ship captain, then sailing from Newport to London. Governor Richard Ward in a letter to Richard Partridge, the agent of the Rhode Island colony in London, under date of April 26, 1742. says: "Dr. Teddeman Hull, the bearer hereof, being bound for London and wholly a stranger there, and unknown to yourself, and in order that you may know the character of the gentleman, I inform you that he is the son of Captain John Hull, late of this colony, under whom Sir Charles Wager was educated, and he has the character of an honest man, &c., &c. This Charles Wager was brought up by John Hull, and served with him in his voyages across the Atlantic, and from his gallant conduct while with Hull, which attracted the attention of the British admiralty, and by it Wager was induced to enter the British navy, and ultimately became first lord of the Admiralty and a member of the privy council. He was always the earnest friend of Rhode Island, and rendered it distinguished services. He has a monument in Westminster Abbey.

Some of the Goodson family came to Newport; one of them married into the Pelham family and another married a Coggeshall.

The English biographers of Sir Charles Wager state that his origin is so obscure that little was known of it.

It is quite possible that this note contains the first printed mention of his parentage and of the time and place of his birth. Sir Charles Wager and Captain John Hull were both connected with the celebrated admiral, Sir Thomas Tiddeman.

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[Note 5.]

RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS IN SPANISH AND SPANISH  
FRENCH WAR, FROM 1739 TO 1748.

1741.

NAME OF VESSEL.	OWNER.	MASTER.
St. Andrews,	John Godfrey, Sueton Grant,	Charles Davidson.
The Revenge,	John Brown, John Bannister,	James Allen.



The Wentworth,	Godfrey Malbone, Stephen Hopkins,	Esek Hopkins.
The Triton,	John Bannister, John Brown,	Wm. J. Bonfield.
The Victory,	John Brown, John Bannister, Wm. Mumford,	Joseph Power.
The Tartar,	The Colony,	Benjamin Wickam.
The Tartar,	The Colony,	Daniel Fry.

## 1742.

The Revenge,	John Potter, William Read,	Charles Dyer.
The Castor,	John Brown, Philip Wilkinson,	Hugh Wentworth.
The Pollux,	John Brown, Philip Wilkinson,	Richard Woolford.
The Fame,	Philip Wilkinson, Daniel Ayrault, Jr.,	John Griffiths.
The Young Eagle,	Sueton Grant.	

## 1743.

The Prince Frederick,	Peleg Brown, Nath. Coddington, jr,	William Hopkins.
The Mary,	—————	William Wilkinson.
The Prince William,	John Brown, John Bannister, William Mumford.	William Allen,
The Hunter,	—————	Michael Clarke.
The Prince Frederick,	Sueton Grant, Peleg Brown, Nath. Coddington, jr.	John Dennis.
The Cæsar,	—————	John Griffiths.
The Young Godfrey,	Godfrey Malbone, Sueton Grant,	Nicholas White.
The Mary,	—————	William Wilkinson,
The Hunter,	Gideon Cornell, William Read,	Michael Clarke.
The Triton,	John Bannister, Joseph Harrison,	Thos. McFarland.

## 1744.

The Cæsar,	Philip Wilkinson, Daniel Ayrault, Jr.,	—————
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The Success,	Sueton Grant, Nath. Coddington, jr. John Ellis. Peleg Brown,	
The Duke of Marlboro,	-----	Robert Morris.
King George,	John Brown, Thos. Coggeshall,	Benj. Cranston.
The Prince William,	John Brown, Joseph Bannister, William Mumford,	William Allen.
The Prince Frederick,	Sueton Grant, Peleg Brown, Nath. Coddington, jr.	John Dennis.
The Revenge,	John Freebody, Benjamin Norton,	James Allen.
The Hector,	Godfrey Malbone, Joseph Wanton,	James Thurston,
The Queen of Hungary,	Solomon Townsend, John Channing, Jos. Tillinghast. Samuel Freebody.	Nathaniel Potter.
The Phoenix,	Jonathan Thurston, Thomas Wickam, Evan Malbone,	Wm. Bennetland.
The Duke of Marlboro,	Godfrey Malbone, Jas. Honeyman, Jr.,	Robert Morris.
The Cæsar.	Philip Wilkinson, Daniel Ayrault, Jr.,	John Griffiths,
The Prince Chas of Lorraine,	Sueton Grant, Peleg Brown, Nath. Coddington, jr. Simeon Potter,	Simeon Potter.
1745.		
The Molly,	William Vernon,	Thomas Fry.
The Prince of Wales,	Godfrey Malbone,	Thomas Brewer.
The Ranger,	Job Almy, William Ellery,	Christo'r Bennett.
The Success,	John Nichols, William Read, William Corey,	Peter Marshall.
The Defiance.	Joseph Tillinghast, Daniel Coggeshall, Solomon Townsend,	John Dennis.
The Queen of Hungary,	Jona. Tillinghast, Solomon Townsend, John Channing, Samuel Freebody,	Thomas Conklin.



The Brittainia,	John Brown, William Mumford, Joseph Harrison,	William Allen.
The Fame,	Philip Wilkinson, Daniel Ayrault, Jr.,	Thomas Thompson.
The Queen Elizabeth,	John Brown, Peleg Brown,	Isaac Doubt.
The Hector,	Godfrey Malbone, Joseph Wanton,	William Higgins.
The Reprisal,	-----	John Hopkins.
The Duke of Marlboro,	Godfrey Malbone, Joseph Wanton,	Benjamin Carr.
The Defiance,	John Tillinghast, Daniel Coggeshall, Solomon Townsend,	John Townsend.
The Mary,	Godfrey Malbone, John Brown,	George Darricott.
The King George,	John Brown, Thomas Coggeshall,	Nath'l Sweeting.

## 1746.

The Charming Betty,	Godfrey Malbone, Joseph Wanton,	Thomas Fry.
The Duke of Cumberland,	Henry Collins, Ebenezer Flagg,	Peter Marshall.

## 1747.

The Patience,	John Bannister, James Brown,	Robert Brown,
The Prince Frederick.	-----	Ebene'r Trowbridge.
The Defiance,	John Tillinghast, Daniel Coggeshall, Solomon Townsend,	John Sweet.
The King George,	-----	William Richards.
The Mary and Ann,	John Channing, Walter Chaloner, Moses Levy,	John Mawdsley.
The Reprisal—180 tons,	Daniel Updike, Jeremiah Lippitt, John Andrews,	William Dunbar.
The Reprisal—90 tons,	-----	Joseph Arnold.
The Lee Friggott,	John Rathbone,	Latham Stanton.
The Jonathan,	Jonathan Nichols, Robert Sherman,	John Dennis.
The Henry,	Ebenezer Flagg, George Phillips,	Orthanuel Tarr.

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## 1748.

The King George,	—————	John Mawdsley.
The Rebecca,	John Channing, Walter Chaloner,	Robert Gibbs.
The London,	—————	Robert Murdie.

Two new brigs fitted out by Sueton Grant and others in 1745—one commanded by Capt. Cranston and the other by Captain Brewer—were never heard of after sailing.

The Fame, Thompson, master, was at Louisburg; returned to Newport, August 9, and sailed on a cruise Sept. 6, 1745.

## [Note 6.]

## SOME AMERICAN CAPTURES IN THE SPANISH-FRENCH-WAR.

	CAPTURED.	CAPTOR.	NAME OF CAPTAIN.
Sept 9, 1749,	The Societie,	Tartar,	Benjamin Wickam
June 6, 1741,	The Amiable Theresa,	The St. Andrew,	Chas. Davidson
	(6 guns, 8 swivels, 27 small arms.		
July 27, 1741,	The Triton and cargo,	Revenge,	George Fox
“ “	The Three Sisters,	“	Jas. Allen
“ “	Great Royal,	“	“
July 6, 1742,	St. Joseph, privateer,	“	“
“ 19, 1742,	The Dove,	“	“
Aug. 11, 1742,	Sea Flower,		Wm. Dyer
Sept. 17, 1742,	The Alexander and cargo,		Robert Flowers
Oct. 6, 1742,	The Three Brothers,		
Oct. 8, 1742,	De la Clara,		
Oct. 29, 1742,	St. Francis,		C. Davidson
Nov. 11, 1742,	Brig Friendship,		
May 30, 1743,	The Angolae.		James Allen
Aug. 5, 1753,	The Caulker,		John Griffiths
	1748, Sloop and cargo,	King George,	John Mawdesly
	1745, The Dreadnaught,	Charming Betty,	Thomas Fry
	1747, Young Johanna,	Defiance,	John Sweet
Dec. —, 1745,	Fortuna,	Duke Marlborough,	B. Carr
Sept. —, 1747,	Vessel and cargo,	Defiance,	John Sweet
	1746, Pearl,	The Polly,	Arthur Helmu
	1748, Vigilante,	Duke Marlborough,	B. Carr
	“ Snow Willis,	Defiance,	—————
	1747, The Greyhound,	Prince Chas. Lorraine,	S. Potter
May —, 1744,	Fortune, after hard fight,	Revenge,	James Allen
	(Specie \$13,000 ——— gold and silver merchandise and 3 slaves.		



CAPTURED.	CAPTOR.	NAME OF CAPTAIN.
1747, Victory, Success,		Samuel Thurston
Oct. 23, 1747. De le Conceptione,	Defiance,	-----
1744, Serena,	Prince Frederick,	-----
Dec. 22, 1746, Delaware (recapture),	Defiance	
The Cæsar,	Revenge,	James Allen
The Snow Asboth,		
A Spanish ship (350 tons,) “	“	Peter Marshal
The Compt. Toulouse (20 g.) “	“	John Dunn
July 6, 1743, Unfrow Sara,	Prince Frederick,	W. Hopkins
Sept. 13, 1744, The Brittania,	The Revenge,	James Allen
July 27, 1744, The Magdalena,	The Phoenix,	W. Bennetland
Dec. —, 1744, Lady of Rosary,	The Cæsar,	John Griffiths
July 19, 1744, Vessel (Gonzales mate),	King George,	Benj. Cranston
July 18, 1744, St. Pierre,	Prince Frederick,	John Dennis
Oct. 30, 1742, Godat,	St. Andrew,	C. Davidson
Oct. —, 1743, Vessel,	Prince Frederick,	John Dennis
Aug. —, 1748, New Brittain,	Defiance,	-----
July —, 1744, The Senior (ship),	Prince Frederick,	John Denuis
“ “ “ San Joseph and San Nicholas	“	“
Oct. —, 1742, A sloop and a schooner,	Bonita,	Robert Flowers
Nov. —, 1747, Young Benjamin,	The Reprisal,	William Dunbar
Jan. —, 1744, St. Clair,	“	John Hopkins
Dec. —, 1745, The Hope,	“	“
1741, The Octavia,	The Charming Betty,	J. Collingwood
Oct. 26, 1745, The Friendship,	The Dolphin,	Rich'd -----
June 2, 1746, The St. Jaques,	Prince Frederick,	-----
May 27, “ Ship (engagement 8 hours), “	“	Peter Marshall
May 7, 1748, Elizabeth.	The Defiance,	John Sweet
May 10, 1745, Ship Wm. Galley,	The Revenge,	James Allen
Aug. 4, 1747, St. John Baptist,	St. George,	Nath'l Sweeting
Oct. 27, 1746, The Postillion,	Defiance,	John Dunn
1748, The Diana,	The King George,	-----
1746, The Gertuda,	Young Eagle,	Peter Marshall
Oct. 28, 1744, Ship off Newfoundland, Queen Hungary,		Nath'l Potter
Apr. 15, 1745, Spanish ship (350 tons),	Revenge,	John Hopkins
A French ship,	Defiance,	John Sweet
The Catherina,	“	“
Sloop and cargo,	“	“
The Polly,		Arthur Helme
The Victorine,	Prince Frederick,	Trowbridge
French schooner,	Charming Betty,	Benj. Fry





July 6, 1746. Capt. John Dennis took and sent into New Providence a rich Spanish settee (?) having on board 22,500 pieces of eight.

Nathaniel Sweeting took a Spanish ship of 400 tons, 10 carriage guns and 74 men, with a cargo valued at \$54,000, at Barcelona.

The same captain also took a Dutch smuggler and sent both vessels to North Carolina, Feb. 17, 1746.

The Polly, Helme master, sent in a sloop with cocoa. The Polly is said to have made a very successful cruise, April, 1746.

The Prince Frederick, Peter Marshall, master, took a French snow from Nantz for St. Francois and sent her to Jamaica, May 27. She, with Dolphin, took a large French ship with dry goods, wine, &c., armed with 17 guns, June 30, 1746.

December, 1746, a prize snow, bound into Newport, went ashore at Nantucket, but she was got off and arrived safely.

Capt. William Dunbar took a ship of 200 tons laden with sugar coffee and rum, while on her way to France, in addition to those he had sent in.—Feb. 19, 1746-7.

In same, February, the brig Hester, Capt. Troop, of New York, took a French sugar ship on her way to port; she was retaken by a French privateer, and was recaptured by a Rhode Island privateer, March 9, 1747.

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[Note 7.]

#### NOTICES OF RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS.

[From the Boston Post-Boy.]

“RHODE ISLAND, December 6, 1745.

Captain Peter Marshall, commander of a fine brigantine called the Prince Frederick, belonging to this port, with 130 stout, able men, besides officers, mounting 18 carriage guns, 30 swivels, and 18 blunderbuses, and all other warlike stores, sailed last Monday on a cruise against His Majesty's enemies. She is reckoned to be a prime sailor.”

CHARLESTON, South Carolina, Feb. 16, 1746.

March 10, 1746.—There has a ship been brought in here that was taken by the Spaniards on her voyage from Jamaica to London, and retaken by two Rhode Island privateers—Captains Carr and Dunbar. Her cargo consists of sugar, rum, &c. The ship was formerly the Experiment, belonging to Mr. Townsend, of London, a merchant ship which Captain Curtis was late master of.



“NEWPORT, March 21, 1745-6.

March 24, 1746.—Last Wednesday arrived here the brigantine *Defiance*, a privateer of this place commanded by Capt. John Dennis, who in his cruise on the 30th of January last took a French ship of 20 guns and 82 men, bound from Port San-Louis to ——— on Hispaniola, for convoy. This ship was then in company with two other vessels of force, which were all smartly engaged with Captain Dennis for some time, but she being the largest, Captain Dennis made a bold attempt and boarded her, and the other two observing, soon made off and escaped. Captain Dennis had 15 men killed and 15 wounded, most of them by being blown up on the quarter deck of the ship just after they boarded her. Seven of those killed were white men, among whom was Mr. John Calder, the Captain Quartermaster; the other eight were blacks. The wounded men are all in a likely way to do well. The enemy had 20 killed and as many wounded. Her cargo consists of 500 hogsheads of sugar, 57 hogsheads of indigo, with other valuable effects.”

“PHILADELPHIA, April 10, 1746.

April 21, 1746.—We hear from Bermuda that the privateer brig *Cæsar*, Captain Griffith of Rhode Island, was cast away about three months' since on the west end of the Island; the captain and crew were saved, and are gone out in a privateer of that Island.”

“NEWPORT. June 27, 1746.

June 30, 1746.—Captain Peter Marshall, commander of the brigantine *Prince Frederick*, privateer of this port, arrived here last Tuesday from his cruise against His Majesty's enemies, and has brought in a French prize ship—the *St. Jaques*. In the engagement Capt. Marshall lost his master and two other men, and had 14 men wounded.”

“July 28, 1746.—We hear that Capt. Griffiths in a Rhode Island privateer has lately taken two prizes, to wit: a snow and a schooner, and has sent them in to New Providence.”

NEWPORT, August 15, 1746.

August 18, 1746.—On Monday last sailed from hence on a cruise against His Majesty's enemies the privateer *Reprisal*, Capt. William Dunbar, commander, well fitted with warlike stores and upwards of 70 able bodied men.”

“Yesterday arrived Capt. Buckmaster in 17 days from St. Kitts, who informs that Capt. Carr and Capt. Fry, commanders of two privateers belonging to this port, met with and engaged a French privateer of 8 carriage guns and 12 swivels, with 80 men, and after exchanging a few broadsides, they took her and carried her into Nevis.”





NEWPORT, September 19, 1746.

September 22, 1746.—By a letter from St. Kitts, dated the 31st of August, we have advice that Capt. Dennis, in a privateer of this port, had retaken from a French privateer an English ship of 16 guns, and had carried her into St. Kitts. Capt. Dennis engaged them both for several hours, and in the action had two men killed, and himself and seven men wounded, but all are likely to do well. The French privateer escaped from him but was much shattered."

JUNE 19, 1747.

EDITORIAL.—"By a vessel, a month from St. Christopher's, we hear that the French privateers which were lately very numerous among the Leeward Islands, are much lessened, many of them being taken by our cruising privateers. 'Tis said that Captain Dennis, in a privateer from Rhode Island, has taken four or five of them himself. He took one privateer of 14 guns and 140 men."

[Note 8.]

# PRIVATEERS FITTED OUT IN THE FRENCH WAR.

## 1753.

VESSEL.	OWNER.	MASTER.
The Mermaid,	—————	Oliver Ring Warner.

## 1755.

The Prussian Hero,	—————	Joseph Gardner.
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## 1756.

The Skip Jack,	William Richards,	James Young.
The Triton,	Robert Jackson, John Mawdsley, Benjamin Church, William Pitt,	George Crosswell.
The Prussian Hero,	—————	Joseph Gardner.
The Foy,	William Read, Jonathan Nichols,	John Dennis.
The General Johnston,	—————	Benjamin Almy.

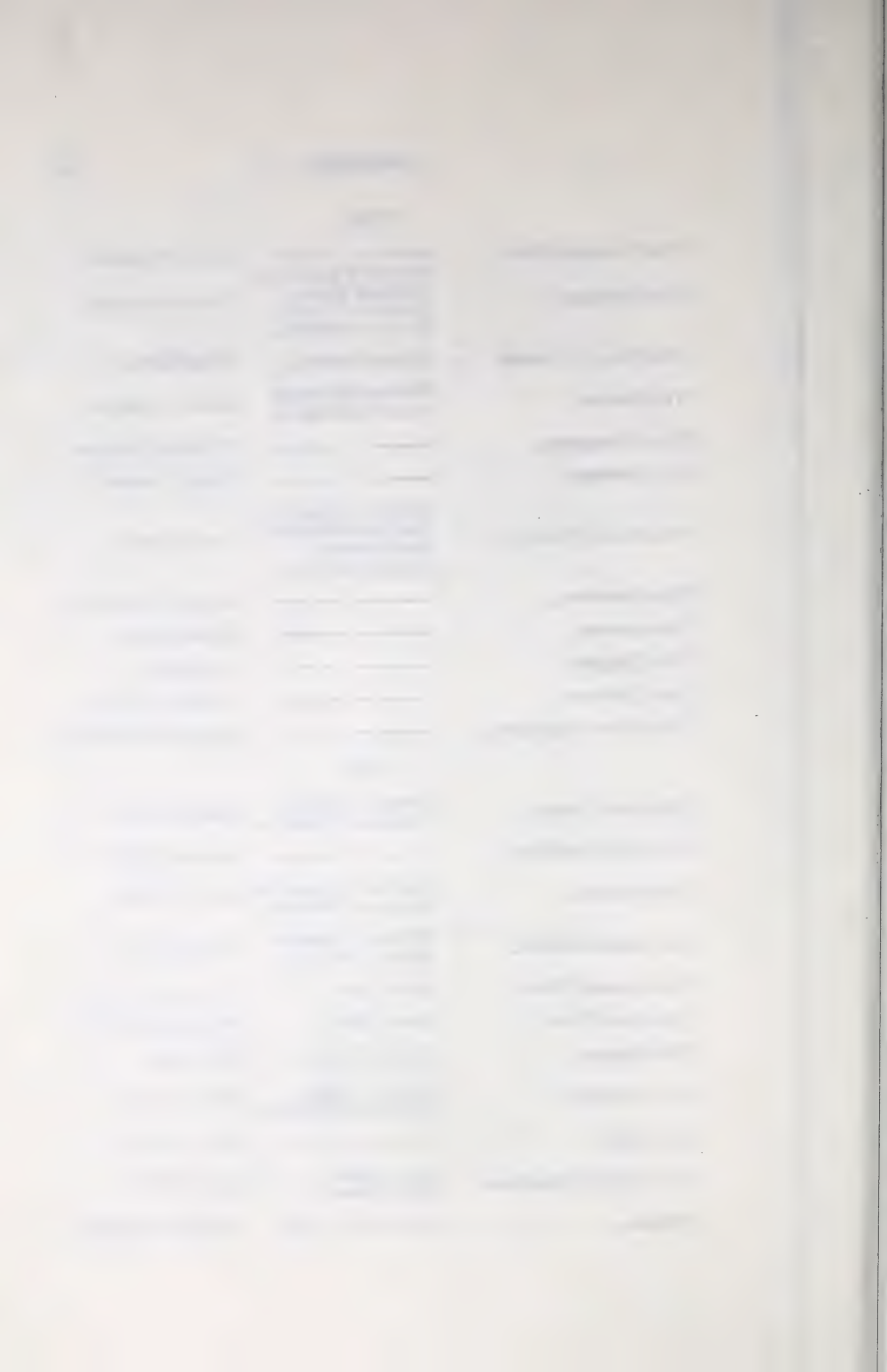


## 1757.

The Charming Betty,	_____	Edward Church.
The Defiance,	Joseph Wanton, Jr., Thomas Taylor, Matthew Cozzens, Robert Stoddard,	Walter Chaloner.
The King of Prussia,	Robert Crooke,	John Roffe.
The Hawke,	William Richards, John Coddington,	Mark Valentine.
The Trumpeter,	_____	William Richards.
The Defiance,	_____	Daniel Fones,
The Prince Frederick,	Robert Crooke, Benjamin Nichols, Isaac Steele, Metcalf Bowler,	James Potter.
The Catharine,	_____	Jeremiah Cranston,
The Success,	_____	Robert Elliot.
The Maggott,	_____	John Lane.
The Defiance,	_____	Michael Phillips.
The Prince Ferdinand,	_____	Roderick McCloud.

## 1758.

The New Concert,	Metcalf Bowler, Christ'er Champlin,	Samuel Sweet.
The Jolly Bacheller,	_____	Samuel Angell.
The Scorpion,	Joseph Wanton, Jr., Benjamin Nichols,	John Warren.
The Ambercrombie,	William Richards, John Coddington,	Joseph Rivas.
The General Webb,	Isaac Hart,	Israel Boardman.
The Lord Howe,	Isaac Hart,	Roderic McCloud.
The Maggot,	John Malbone,	John Lane.
The Katharine,	James Gould. Augustus Johnston,	Robert Elliott.
The Mars,	_____	John Brown.
The Duke of Marlboro,	Isaac Stella, John Miller,	Estes Howe.
Othello,	_____	Francis Malbone.





The Rabbit,	Francis Honeyman, Isaac Hunt,	Peleg Easton.
The Dolphin,	Napthali Hart, Isaac Hunt, Francis Honeyman,	Oliver Ring Warner.
The Triton,		Walter Buffum.
The Industry,	Aborn Page,	Joseph Owens,
The Roby,	Martin Luther, Sylvester Child,	Mark A. DeWolf.

## 1759.

The Defiance,		Benjamin Wanton
The Diana,	Metcalf Bowler,	Samuel Sweet.

## 1760.

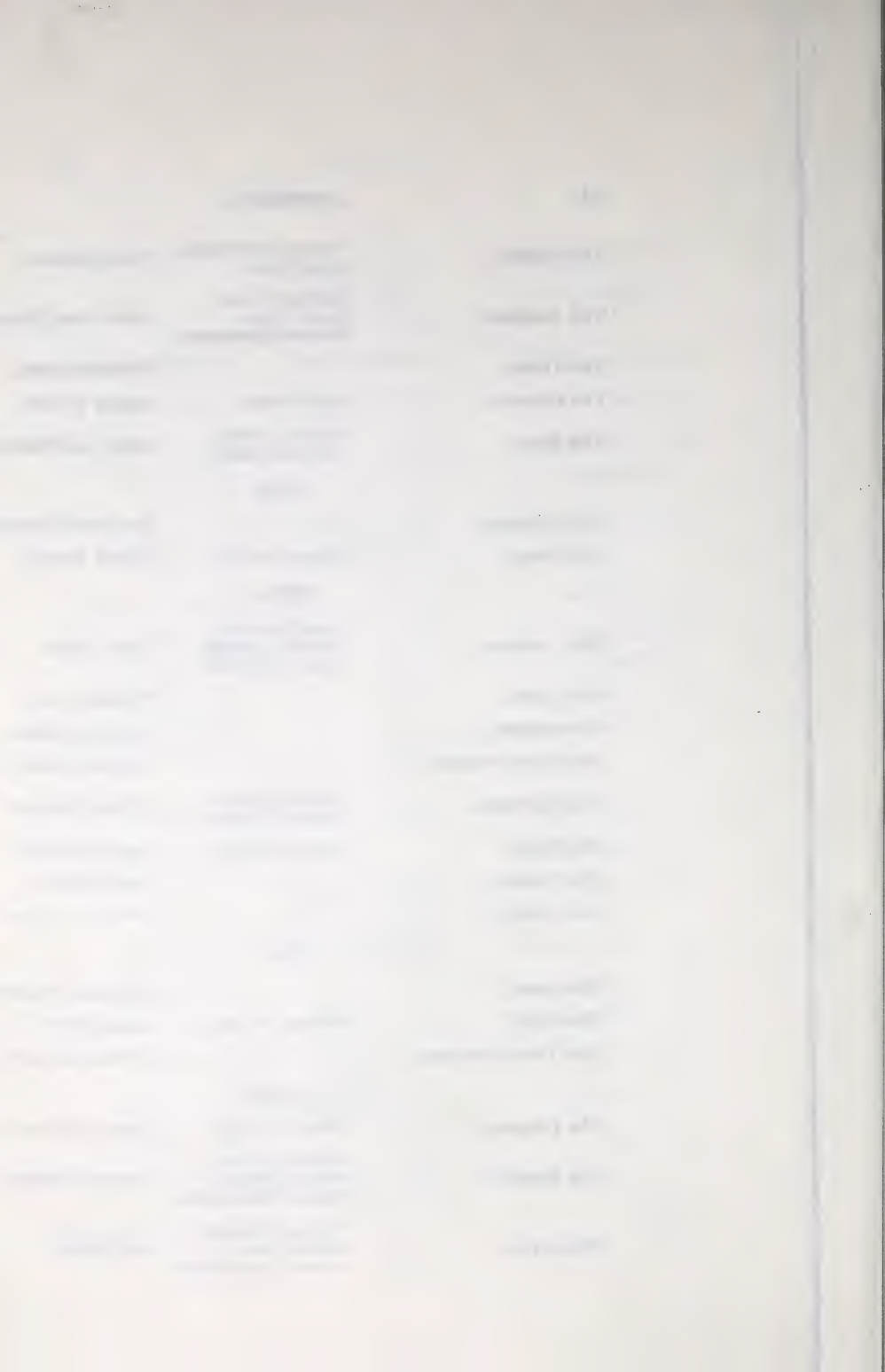
The Amazon,	John Franklin, Thomas Hazard, Henry Gardner,	John James.
The Lydia,		William Ladd.
The Success,		Abel Mincheson,
The Three Brothers,		Joshua Stoddard.
The Goldfinch,	George Jackson, Joseph Turpin,	William Metcalf,
The Phebe,	Simeon Potter,	Daniel Waldon.
The Success,		Daniel Fones,
The Molly,		-----

## 1761.

The Sarah,		Jonathan Burdick.
The Wolf,	William Wanton,	James Potter.
The Three Brothers,		Joshua Stoddard.

## 1762.

The Pompey,	Robert Crooke,	Samuel Johnston.
The Dolphin.	Napthali Hart, Gideon Sisson, Francis Honeyman,	Thomas Rodman.
The Diana,	Thomas Hazard, Gideon Sisson, ----- Coddington.	Job Easton.

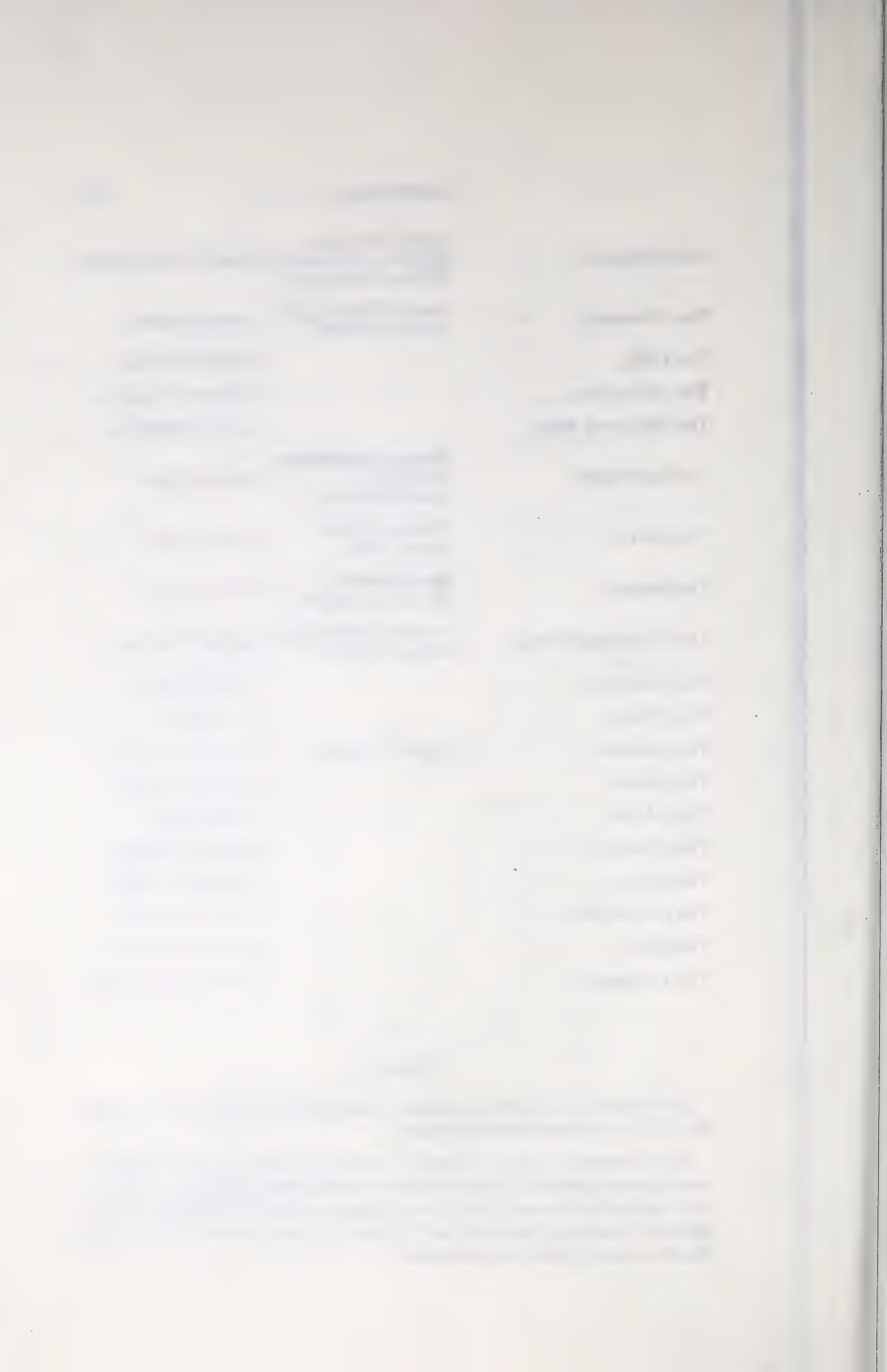


The Britannia,	James Redwood, Solomon Townsend, William Redwood,	Francis Coddington.
The Diamond,	Joseph Wanton, Jr., Naphthali Hart,	James Ramsey.
The Polly,		Caleb Cranston.
The Rising Sun,		William Pinnegar.
The Polly and Sally,		Lovett Thurston.
The Harlequin,	Thomas Richardson, John Lyon, Joseph Belcher,	Michael Ryan.
The Dove,	Thomas Hazard, Henry Wall,	Edward Dyer.
The Bearer,	John Oldfield, Nathaniel Clarke,	Walter Clarke.
The Charming Polly,	Godfrey Malbone, jr. John Malbone,	Lovett Thurston,
The Harlequin,		Daniel Wilcox.
The Nancy,		Geo. Nichols.
The Defiance,	Metcalf Bowler,	James Duncan.
The Sarah,		John Thompson.
The Africa,		John Easton.
The Pompey,		Samuel Johnston.
The Unity,		Zebedee Grinnell.
The Conformer,		Benjamin Hicks.
The Wolf,		James Coddington.
The Industry,		Thos. Underwood.

## [Note 9.]

The Success, Seth Harvey, master, was captured with 96 slaves, May 30, 1757, and carried into Martinico.

The Marygold, William Taylor, master, having on board 80 slaves, was captured June 19, 1756, within twelve miles of Antigua. The captain wrote his owners, that he left captains James, Hammond (Palsgrave), Pinnegar, Rodman and Clarke on the Coast of Africa; that Clarke, when he left, had 40 slaves.





The *Sirre Leone*, David Lindsey, master, belonging to Philip Wilkinson, on May 27, 1756, on her voyage from the Coast of Africa to St. Christopher's, was captured and carried into Guadaloupe.

The *Hawke*, Owen Morris, master, on a voyage from the Coast of Africa with 75 slaves, April 4, 1756, was captured and carried into Martinico.

The *Dolphin*, George Nichols, master, was captured on the Coast of Africa, Dec. 3, 1756, and carried into Goree and condemned.

The *Industry*, Thomas Underwood, master, with a cargo of 107 slaves, bound from the Coast of Africa to St. Christopher's, was captured April 10, 1758.

The *Prince George*, John Peck, master, was captured and plundered on the Coast of Africa, Jan. 30, 1761; voyage broken up.

The ship *Cæsar*, of Newport, Jeremiah Clarke, master, left the Coast of Africa Sept. 22, 1761; had on board 116 slaves bound to the West Indies; was captured by a French cruiser, Oct. 30, off Cape St. John.

The *Success*, Nehemiah Rhodes, master, was captured on the Coast of Africa, July 8, 1761, having on board 43 slaves.

The *Two Friends*, Polypus Hammond, master, with 130 slaves and 28 elephants' tusks, was captured June 20, 1727.

*Annamaboo*, Walter Buffum, master, with half cargo of slaves, was captured July 23, 1758.

The *Fox*, William Taylor, master, was captured at the same time and near the same place as the *Annamaboo*.

The *King of Prussia*, Joseph Wanton, master, with 54 slaves, 20 ounces gold dust, and 66 hogsheads of rum, was captured July 23, 1758.

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[Note 10.]

The following are some of the vessels from Rhode Island, captured by the enemy in the French war, sometimes called the "seven years' war," to wit:

VESSELS.	CAPTAINS.
April 1758. The <i>Sally</i> , condemned at Cuba.	
The <i>London</i> , taken on voyage from Surinam,	
The <i>Fox</i> , captured on Coast of Africa,	William Taylor.



July 1, 1759. The Elizabeth,	Robert Burgess.
May 18, 1859. The Daniel,	Robert Rodman.
Dec. 5, 1758. The Industry,	Robert Ferguson.
June 26, 1759. The Hare,	Ebenezer Tyler.
Apr. 28, 1761. The Sarah,	Caleb Cory.
May 30, — The sloop Success.	Seth Harvey.
June 20, 1757. The Two Friends,	Pollipus Hammond.
Dec. 20, 1857. The Charming Betty (horses, fish and lumber),	James Dixon.
The Marygold, (horses, oil, candles),	William Taylor.
Dec. 1, 1856. The Bonitar (fish, lumber, &c.)	Peleg Easton.
Mch 25, 1857. The Sirre Leone,	David Lindsey.
Dec. 3, 1756. The Dolphin (rum, coast Africa),	George Nichols.
Oct. 9, 1757. The Prudent Hannah (ransomed),	Ebenezer Vose.
May 30, 1758. The Hannah (West India goods),	Moses Bennett.
Dec. 26, 1761. The Portsmouth (W. India goods),	John Heffernan.
July 28, 1761. The Lydia (wine from )	John Ellsbree.
Oct. 22, 1861. The Mayflower,	Thomas Child.
July 14, 1761. The King of Prussia (off Madeira),	Robert Rodman.
Oct. 21, 1759. The Bachelor (molasses),	William Davidson.
Oct. 4, 1761. The Penelope (money, bills of ex.)	Robert Whately,
Nov. 14, 1761. The Four Brothers (near Surinam)	Peleg Thurston.
Dec. 8, 1761. The Rainbow (St. Thomas),	Ebenezer Trowbridge.
July 25, 1761. The Cæsar,	Jeremiah Clarke.
The Peggy,	Joseph Sheffield.
Sep. 29, 1761. The Charming Betty (W. Indies),	Rememb'ce Simmons.
Mch. 8, 1761. The Three Brothers, “	John Coddington.
May —, 1758. The Fox,	Edward Bissel.
Sep. 18, 1762. The Friendship (acquitted),	John Duncan.
Nov. 30, 1762. The Susanna (sugar and indigo),	Stephen Goddard.
June 22, 1762. The Black Prince (plundered and sent off),	Daniel Hammond.
July 17, 1762. The Increase (in Jamaica once by French, twice British),	Jirah Grinnell.
May 30, 1762. The King George (molasses),	Benjamin Wright.
July 8, 1862. The Betsy (West India goods),	William Robinson.
The Speedwell (taken by French, retaken by British, liberated with salvage, and again cap- tured and ransomed, captured after and plundered),	Peleg Hall.
July 5, 1762. The Polly (plundered and set adrift; captured again Oct. 11, 1762),	William Ladd.





Aug. 21, 1752. The Abby (captain killed in engagement),	John Donovan.
Aug. 2, 1762. The Resource (West Indies),	John Laner.
Oct. 19, 1762. The Dove (rum and salt),	Rememb'ce Simmons.
Mch. 3, 1763. The Pitt (West Indies),	Christopher Allan.
Nov. 8, 1762. The Nancy (spermicetti candles, ————),	George Nichols.
Dec. 2, 1758. The Swan,	William Wall.
June —, 1758. The Swallow (from Surinam),	Benjamin Gorton.
June 14, 1753. The Fanny,	Benjamin Wickham.
Jan. 28, 1758. The Jamaica Packet,	Anthony Blackstock.
— — —, 1758. The Unity,	John Jones.
Dec. 2, 1759. The America ( ———— ),	Henry Jackson.
— — —, 1761. The Hope (sugar and molasses),	William Lawrence.
Aug. 9, 1761. The Dolphin,	Jeremiah Greene.

NOTE.—some of these vessels were ransomed after capture, others were recaptured, and it was alleged that some of them were wrongfully captured and carried to the French West India Islands for condemnation when the captains could not give the necessary bond to defend them, and the vessels were wrongfully condemned by default.

## [Note 11.]

## PRIVATEERS IN THE REVOLUTION.

	VESSEL.	OWNER.	MASTER.
1776.			
July 25,	Revenge.	John Sanford. Caleb Gardiner,	Samuel Dunn, Jr.
Nov. 5,	Expedition.	Samuel Brown, Jeremiah Platt,	Eliphalet Ripley.
Nov. 16,	Revenge.	Samuel Dunn, Jr.,	Joseph Sheffield.
Oct. 7,	Minerva.	Adam Babcock,	Joseph Rotch.
Aug. 26,	United States.	Joseph Belcher,	Benjamin Pierce.
Nov. 20,	Greenwich.	Silas Casey, Nath'l Greene & Co., Wm. Greene,	Joseph Gardner.
Oct. 8.	Charming Sally.	Isaac Sears,	Francis Brown.
Aug. 8,	Montgomery.	Nath'l Greene, John Smith, Wm. Wall,	William Rhodes.
Nov. 21,	Oliver Cromwell.	Nicholas Brown, William Russell,	Sam'l Chace, jr.
Sept. 24,	Yankee Ranger.	William Wall, Nicholas Brown,	Samuel Tripp.

Table 1. Summary of the data collected for the study.

Variable	Unit	Mean	SD	Range
Age	Years	35.2	12.5	18-65
Gender	Male/Female	50/50		
Education	Years	12.5	1.5	9-16
Income	\$/month	1500	500	500-3000
Marital status	Married/Single	60/40		
Occupation	Various			
Health status	Good/Poor	70/30		
Smoking status	Smoker/Non-smoker	30/70		
Alcohol consumption	Yes/No	20/80		
Stress level	Low/High	40/60		
Depression score	0-10	4.5	2.5	0-10
Life satisfaction	1-5	3.2	1.0	1-5
Quality of life	0-100	65	15	30-90

Table 2

Table 2. Summary of the data collected for the study.

Variable	Unit	Mean	SD	Range
Age	Years	35.2	12.5	18-65
Gender	Male/Female	50/50		
Education	Years	12.5	1.5	9-16
Income	\$/month	1500	500	500-3000
Marital status	Married/Single	60/40		
Occupation	Various			
Health status	Good/Poor	70/30		
Smoking status	Smoker/Non-smoker	30/70		
Alcohol consumption	Yes/No	20/80		
Stress level	Low/High	40/60		
Depression score	0-10	4.5	2.5	0-10
Life satisfaction	1-5	3.2	1.0	1-5
Quality of life	0-100	65	15	30-90

Aug. 20,	Diamond.	Nicholas Brown,	Thomas Stacy.
Sept. —,	Diamond	Nicholas Cooke, Thomas Hazard,	Wm. Waterman
Sept. 17,	Broome.	Zebulon Budlong,	Richard Whellon.
Aug. 13,	America.	Samuel Wyatt et al,	William Dring.
July 24,	Independence.	Nicholas Cooke, et al.,	Jabez Whipple.
Nov. 20,	General Gates.	George Corliss, Joseph Russell,	John Grimes.
Nov. 20,	Favorite.	John Brown,	Geo. W. Babcock.
Sept. —,	Favorite.		Abner Coffin.
June 12,	Polly.	Joseph Cooke.	Ezekiel Durfee.
Aug. —,	Joseph.	John Innis Clarke.	John Field.
Sept. 11,	Industry.	Nich. Browne. et al.,	Thomas Child.
Oct. 16,	Retaliation.	John Brown,	Isaac James.
	Snow Bird.		Israel Ambrose.
Nov. 20,	Hawke.	John Brown.	James Phillips.
Oct. 4,	Yankee Ranger.	William Earle,	Daniel Simmons.
Sept. 14,	Favorite.	John Brown,	Abner Coffin.
Oct. 28,	General Sterling.	Silas Casey.	John Thomas.
April 2,	Joseph.	John Innis Clarke,	James Munroe.
Nov. 12,	Lady Washington.	Nathaniel Gyles et al.	Ishmael Hardy.
Sept. 28,	Charming Sally.	Isaac Sears.	Francis Brown.
Aug. 13,	Polly.	John Brown.	Jos. Tillinghast.
July 30,	Putnam.	John Jenckes.	Chris. Whipple.
	War Eagle.		Isaac Field.
Aug. 27,	Bachelor.	John Collins.	William Ladd,
July 6,	Diamond.	John Brown.	William Chace.
July 19,	Yankee Ranger,	William Wallace.	John Warren,
Oct. 11,	Broome.	Isaac Sears.	Samuel Wanton.
Aug. 14,	Hawke.	John Brown,	Arthur Crawford.
Sept. 29,	Eagle,	John Mathewson et al.	Isaac Field.
Nov. 6,	Fanny.	William Hart et al.	Azariah Whitney.
Nov. 20,	Blaze Castle.	William Russell, Joseph Russell,	James Munroe.
July 21,	Mermaid.	John Innis Clarke,	Lemuel Bishop.
Oct. 28,	General Warren,	Silas Casey,	Silas Cooke.
Sep. —,	Game Cock.	John Smith,	Timothy Pearce.
July 16,	Defiance.	John Innis Clarke,	Elijah F. Payne.
Nov. 13,	Rover,	Nicholas Brown.	John Horne.
Sep. 30,	Montgomery.	John Smith et al,	Thos. Rutenburg.
June 8,	Snow Bird,	Nicholas Brown,	Louis Thomas.
— —,	Minerva,		James Mowry.
May 29,	Victory,		Benj. Lindsey.
Aug. —,	America.	Abram Page.	Nath'l Packard.
Aug. 24,	Lady Washington,	Samuel Wyatt.	James Godfrey.





Nov. 12.	Adams,	Jeremiah Platt,	George Shokely.
July 3.	General Greene,	Silas Casey,	John Garzie.
May 15.	Montgomery,	John Southwick,	Daniel Bucklin.
Aug. 26.	Greenwich,	Jacob Green et al.,	Job Pierce.
Nov. 20.	Sally,	John Brown,	Joseph Peck.

## 1777

Dec. 30.	Marlborough,	John Brown,	Geo. W. Babcock.
July 11.	Swallow,	John I. Clarke,	Benjamin Seabury.
Sept. 15.	United States,	N. Miller et al.,	Thos. Tillinghast.
Nov. 5.	Diamond,	John Brown,	Thomas Stacy,
Nov. 7.	Blaze Castle.	Clarke & Nightingale,	James Monroe.
Aug. 4.	Oliver Cromwell,	Nich. Brown et al.,	Samuel Chase, jr.
Sept. 26.	Victory,	William Rhodes,	Jabez Westcott,
Aug. 13.	Ranger,	Anthony DeWolf,	Isaac Eslick.
Aug. 13.	Swallow,	Jere. Clarke et al.,	John Murphy.
June 12.	Generous Friend,	Joseph Webb,	Samuel Stillman.
July 3.	Retaliation,	John Brown,	John Tillinghast.
Apr. 30.	Eagle,	Joseph Lawrence,	Mowry Potter.
Oct. 28.	Fairfield,	Amos Hubbard et al.,	James Hovey.
	Tartar,		John Grimes.
	Spitfire,		Sheffield Atwood.
	General Sullivan,	William Wall et al.,	Henry Oman.
	Betsey,	John Wanton,	Edw. Dillingham.

## 1778

April 1.	General Stark,	Cromwell Child et al.	Benjamin Pearce.
Jan. 28.	Sally,	Jabez Bowen,	Lemuel Bishop.
Mch. 16.	Dolly,	And. Caldwell, et al.,	Ebenezer Williams.
April 5.	General Stark,	Nathan Miller et al.,	Benjamin Pearce.
Mch. 25.	Minerva,	William Vernon,	John Grimes.
Apr. 20.	Mary,	Peleg Clarke,	William Ladd.

## 1778

America,	William Dennis.
Betsey,	Job Coggeshall.
Two Brothers,	Joseph Bell.
Mar Flower,	Stephen Jenckes.
Bar on,	George Wanton.
Weale,	Joseph Maura.
Industrious Bee,	George Allen.
Jolly Robin,	Timothy Lock.
Congress,	James Adams.
General Arnold,	A. Cartwright.
General Sullivan,	William Dennis.

## 1779

Sept. 4.	Providence,	Robert Stevens,	James Godfrey.
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Nov. 8.	Count d'Estang,	Caleb Gardner,	John Sanford.
Sep. 21.	Flying Fish,	Nathan Miller et al.,	Caleb Gardner.
July 14.	General Lovell,	Robert Slocum et al.,	Isaac Rider.
Nov. 6.	St. John,	Wm. Creed,	Nehemiah Adams.
Mch. 2.	Molly's Adventure,	James Hood et al.,	Peter Day.
Dec. 31.	Providence,	John Brown,	Thos. Jackson.
Oct. 14.	Fulton,	William Wall et al.,	Richard Mass.
Jun. 26.	Dolphin,	John Humphrey,	Isaac Tyler.
Nov. 13.	Black Snake,	Jacob Greene et al.,	Job Pierce.
Feb. 26.	Wasp,	Samuel Bailey,	William Cornell.
Jun. 11.	Wasp,		Joseph Briggs.
Oct. 13.	Black Snake,	Jacob Greene,	Isaac Carr.
Sept. 3.	Barber,	William Richmond,	Mich'l Underwood.
Sept. 4.	Providence,		James Godfrey.
July 14.	Hawk and Eagle,		Henry Soule, Jr.
Feb. 24.	Weazle,	Jonah Flagg,	John Wheaton.
Aug. 18.	Retaliation,	John Garzie,	Nathan Westcott.
Jun. 29.	Gen'l Gates,	Robert Taylor,	Elisha Warren.
Oct. 2.	Abigail,	Nathan Miller,	John Hall.
M'ch 3.	Hero,	Robert Taylor,	Caleb Greene.
May 11.	Friendship,	John Brown,	Thos. Jackson.
M'ch 30.	Bradford S.,	S. Royal Paine,	Sion Martindale.
Sept. 13.	Macaroni,	Jonathan Waldron,	Peleg Eldred.
July 22.	Success,	Rich'd Mathewson,	Isaac Carr.
Aug. 25.	Marvel,	Walter Burdick,	Elisha Bennett.
April 17.	Happy Return,	John Brown,	William Jacobs.
Aug. 12.	Gen'l Wayne,	Jos. Lawrence,	Nicholas Webster.
Oct. 13.	Hero,	Sam'l Allen,	William Wardwell.
July 10.	Barber,		Thomas Stanton.
Ap'l. 19.	Providence,	Samuel Aborn,	Lowry Aborn.
Ap'l. 3.	Lark,	James Sabin,	Benj. Butts.
	Independence,		Joseph Almy.
	A privateer commanded by Nathaniel Briggs.		
	Saratoga,	J. I. Clarke	James Munroe.
	Prudence		Lowry Aborn.
	Happy Return,	John Brown,	Jona. Treadwill.
	Marvel,		Elisha Bennett.

1780

Ap. 14.	Argo,	John Brown, et. al.,	Silas Talbot,
Ap. 25.	Chance,	Clarke & Nightingale,	Daniel Aborn.
Aug. 12.	Brig Providence,		Abijah Potter.
Dec. 16.	Brig Marianna,		John Kendrick.
May 10.	Adventure,	John Brown,	Pardon Sheldon.
M'ch 14.	George,	Nathan Miller,	Samuel Wardwell.





M'ch 14.	Wayne,		Benj. Pearce.
May 12.	Gen. Wash't'n,	John Brown,	James Monroe.
M'ch 20.	Betsey,	John Brown,	Jos. Cooke.
June 12.	Gen'l Gates,	John Mumford,	Obadiah Wright.
June 3.	Harbinger,	John Brown,	William Malone.
Ap'l 18.	Crawford,	Nicholas Brown,	John Uptide.

## 1781

Aug. 8.	Flora,	Jacob & Griffin Greene,	Henry Johnston.
Sept. 14.	Comet,	Howland Coit et. al.,	William Walters.
July 25.	Marianna,	John Williams, et al.,	Chris. Whipple.
Nov. 25.	Brig Hope,	John Brown,	Simeon Smith.
Aug. 11.	Sloop Hope,	Clarke & Nightingale,	Chris. Smith.
Sept. 27.	Rover,		Jos. Olney.
Sept. 7.	Wasp,	Clarke & Nightingale,	Peleg Greene.
July 3.	Minerva,	Jacob & Griffin Greene,	Benj. Pearce.
Dec. 6.	Greyhound,	M. Mackay,	Philemon Haskell.

## 1782

May —	Chance,	Clarke & Nightingale,	Benj. Aborn.
July 23.	Fair Play,		James Phillips.
Jan. 29.	Count deGrasse,	John Channing,	Peter Aloph.
Sept. 5.	Lady's Delight,	William Bucklin,	William Bucklin.
M'ch 9.	Chance,	Francis Mulligan,	Sam'l Watrous, Jr.
Dec. 3.	Trimmer,	Zebulon Story,	Sam'l Jeffers.
April 24.	Rising Sun,	Nicholas Brown,	Thos. Jackson.
Dec. 7.	Modesty,	Morris & Man,	Alfred Arnold.
	Clemence	H. H. Tillinghast,	William Hopkins.
Oct. 16.	Phoenix,	William Creed,	William Corey.
Sept. 5.	Elisha Greene, 2-mast boat,		James Anthony.
Nov. 13.	Gen. Rochambeau,	John Topham,	Oliver Read.
Oct. 4.	Unity,	Cotton Gelston,	Jonathan Coffin.
Dec. 3.	Trimmer,	Richard Woodson,	Sam'l Jeffers.
Oct. 1.	Industry		Eleazer Warren.
Aug. 5.	Baton		Daniel Collins.
July 9.	Yorick,	Welcome Arnold,	Charles Handy, Jr.
	Industry,	Henry Wyncoop,	Peleg Greene.
July 24.	Gamecock,		William Hopkins.
May 25.	Marquis de Lafayette,	Miles Cooper,	Jos. Olney.
June 20.	Sally,	John Brown,	Jacob Westcott.
July 23.	Fair Play.		James Phillips.
April 13.	Insurance,	John Brown,	Isaiah Cahoone.
Jan. 3.	St. John,	William Creed,	Oliver Bowen.
Nov. 16.	Scammel,	John Innis Clarke,	Noah Stoddard.
Sept. 13.	Surprise,	N. Silsby, et al.,	Benj. Warren.



1783

M'ch 17.	Gen. Greene,	Griffin Greene,	John Remington.
M'ch 9.	Vermont	William Barton,	Isaac Tyler.
Jan. 1.	Gen. Washington,	Chris. Hopkins,	John Wanton.
Jan. 4.	Maria Antoinette,	Thos. Jenkins,	Shubael Worth.
Jan. 24.	Nancy,	John Humphrey,	John Humphrey.
M'ch 25.	Game Cock,	John Smith,	John L. Tillinghast.
M'ch 1.	Lively,	John Dennis,	Jonathan Allen.
M'ch 1.	Count de Grasse,	Jonathan Dennis, et al.,	Jonathan Dunham.
M'ch 20.	Peacock,	William Creed,	Joseph Olney.
M'ch 17.	Neptune,	John Smith, et al.,	John Dalling.
M'ch 12.	Fulton,	William Wall,	John Pond.
Feb. 20.	Snake Fish,	John Brown,	Josiah Cahoon.
M'ch 5.	Gen. Washington,	Chris. Ellery,	William Covell.
Feb. 20.	Wonder,	Zebulon Story,	Thos. Forrester.
Feb. 5.	Gen. Greene,	Peleg Wood, et al.,	Sam'l Jeffers.
Feb. 17.	Polly,	Joseph West, et al.,	Alfred Arnold.
Jan. 24.	Modesty,	W. Morris,	William Brown.

[Note 12.]

## SOME PRIZES SENT INTO RHODE ISLAND IN REVOLUTION.

1776.

	CAPTURED VESSEL.	CAPTOR.	MASTER.
August.	Two valuable prizes, (sugar, cotton and coffee.)	Diamond,	Wm. Chace.
17	9 prizes in Newport awaiting condemnation.		
	Bark, (sugar and rum,)		Montgomery.
	Rover,	Montgomery,	Daniel Bucklin.
	Swallow,	Snow Bird,	Israel Anderson.
	Brig Fanny,	Independence,	Whipple.
	Betsey,	Montgomery,	Wm. Rhodes.
	Cool and Easy,	"	"
Nov 30.	Endeavor,	"	Thos. Rutenbergen.
Dec. —.	Frank,	"	"
	Brig Rice Pongas,	The Eagle,	Barzellia Smith.
	Friendship, (transport,)	Independence,	

The first part of the history of the  
country is divided into three  
periods. The first period is  
the period of the  
first settlement of the  
country. The second period  
is the period of the  
second settlement of the  
country. The third period  
is the period of the  
third settlement of the  
country.

The second part of the history of the  
country is divided into three  
periods. The first period is  
the period of the  
first settlement of the  
country. The second period  
is the period of the  
second settlement of the  
country. The third period  
is the period of the  
third settlement of the  
country.

	Live Oak,	Diamond,	Thomas Stacy.
April 9.	Brig and sloop from protection of Scarborough, Row Gallies.		
	The Crawford,		"
	Ship Woodcock,	Diamond,	Thomas Stacy.
Oct.	Hannah,	Favorite,	Abner Coffin.
	Paisley,	Greenwich,	Job Pearce.
	Brig Mary and Joseph,	Montgomery,	Thomas Stacy.
Nov.	Phenix,	The Greenwich,	Job Pearce.
Aug.	Triton,	Montgomery,	William Rhodes.
	Brig Bee,	"	"
	Westmoreland,		Esek Hopkins.
	Georgia packet, condemned August 17.		
	Speedwell.	"	"
	Cargo of Brig Union,		James Monroe.
Sept. 2.	Star and Garter,	Diamond,	Wm. Chase.
Mch. 26.	Cabot,,	True Blue,	Elisha Herman.
Sept. 27.	Ship Union,	Hawke,	Arthur Crawford.
Oct. 4.	Ship Belle,	The Greenwich,	Job Pearce,
Sept. 21,	Ship Thomas,	The Hawke,	Arthur Crawford.
Apr. 11.	Georgia packet,	Row Galley,	John Grimes.
	Sally,	The Joseph,	John Field.
Dec. 3.	The Ship Jane,		
	Property,	Montgomery,	Rutenberger.
Oct. 1.	British transport and Supply, The Independence.		

June 13, 1775, two American vessels were said to be in the west passage, on the west side of Conanicut. At that time the British frigates Rose, the Swan, and a tender with five prizes were in the harbor of Newport. The two British vessels of war and the tender got under way and sailed around the north end of Conanicut to look down the west passage. In the meantime, volunteers from Newport boarded the prizes, overcome the prize crews, recaptured the prizes, and took them to a place of safety.

## 1777

- Dec. The Syren wrecked on Point Judith. The Sisters and the Two Mates were condemned in 1777.
- Mch 11. The Two Brothers, with cargo of provisions, was driven on shore at Westerly.
- The Kingston packet.

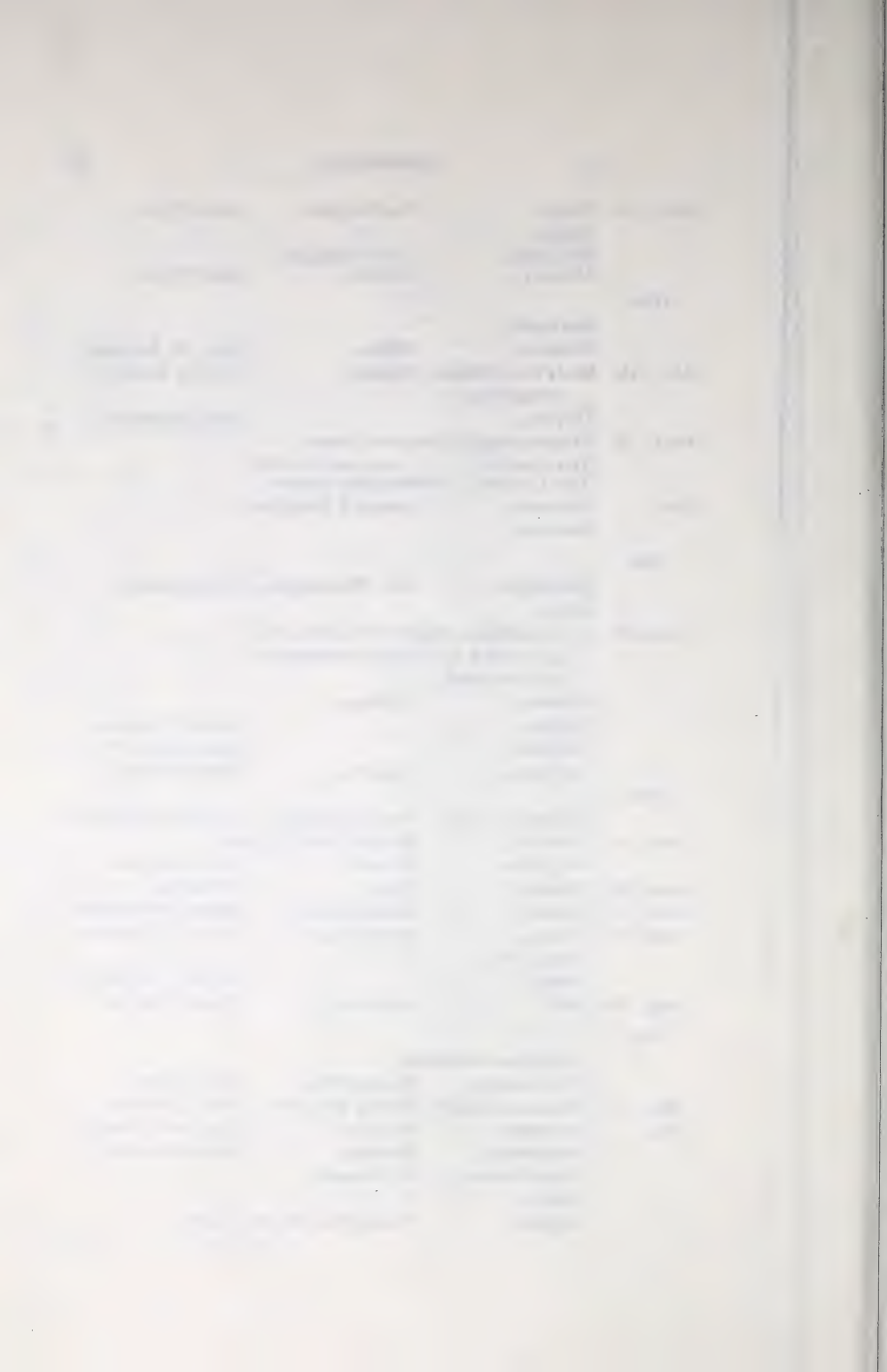
## 1778

- Aug. 8. The Fanny, The Hornet and Seven Brothers.





Aug. 8.	Peggy, Nancy, Brig Sally. Delancy,	The Dolphin, " " Yankee Ranger, Dolphin,	Isaac Tyler. " Isaac Tyler.
1779			
Jan. 14.	Harlequin, Glasgow, Molly's Adventure, (recapture.) Dolphin,	Mifflin, Hornet,	Geo. W. Babcock. Charles Jenckes. Sion Martindale.
Sept. 9.	British Supply Boat—four boats. The George, { The Thomas, {	captured by Col. Christopher Greene.	
Dec.	Brittania, Rebecca.	Joseph & Jonathan.	
1780			
	Barrington, John.	Gen. Washington,	James Munroe.
Aug. 28.	Le Committe, recaptured with cargo valued at £31754 sterling, by the Randolph.		
	Industry, Spitfire, Surprise, Le Compt,	Revenge. Hancock,	James Munroe. Silas Talbot. Peter Richards.
1781			
Jan. 4.	Rochester (brig), Phœnix, Brig Rose,	Young Cromwell, Marquis de la Fayette, Success,	Jona'n Buddington. John Hopkins.
Sept. 24.	Rachel,	Hope,	C. Smith.
Jan. 2.	Betsey,	Morning Star,	Jonathan Richards.
April 16.	Union, Brig John, James,	Protection, " " " "	John F. Williams. Jona'n Buddington.
Aug. 30.	Sally,	Assurance,	Isaiah Cahoon.
1782			
	America—recaptured.		
Dec. 1.	Fair America, Defiance—recap'd, Truncator, Friendship, True Britton, Manly, Squirrel,	Rochambeau, Young Scammel, Surprise, Modesty, Deliverance, " " Young Scammel and Hero.	Oliver Read. Noah Stoddard. Benjamin Warren. Alfred Arnold.



1782	Fox,	Insurance,	Isaiah Calhoone.
Oct. 12.	Fly,	Hero,	Oliver Read.
Mch. 19.	Tyron,		John Scranton.
	New York Packet, Patty,		Alfred Arnold.
	Speedwell,		William Brown.
Mch. 17.	Leopard,	Rochambeau,	Oliver Read.
Sept.	Hamburg,	Polly,	Alfred Arnold.
Mch. 7.	Cool and Easy,		James Prior.
Mch. 26.	Hope,	Polly,	Alfred Arnold.
	Providence—recaptured.		"
	In court, March 3, the Rebecca, the Mercy and the Patty were condemned as lawful prizes, and the St. James was condemned near the same time.		
Feb.	Leopard,	Success.	
Jan.	Lion,	Rochambeau,	Oliver Read.
	Spy,	"	"

April 9, 1776, the British frigate Scarborough, 20 guns, a snow of 16 guns, with two transports, a brig and a sloop, arrived in the harbor of Newport from Georgia.

At that time there were two row gallies belonging to the colony, each mounting two 18's. The Spitfire was under the command of John Grimes, and had 44 men, and the Lady Washington was under the command of ——— Hyers, and had 45 men.

The row gallies captured the two transports and sent them out of the harbor to a place of safety. The brig was loaded with bread and the sloop was loaded with salt.

The gallies, after securing the transports, attempted to board the snow, but were driven off by the marines. Daniel J. Tillinghast, of Newport, was wounded in this engagement. The gallies opened fire on the Scarborough, as did the battery at the north end of the town. This forced her to slip her cables and haul over under Conanicut, where guns of the batteries were brought to bear upon her, and she was forced to go to sea. She had on board Sir James Wright and several leading Tories from Georgia. The inhabitants of the town secured her cables and anchor. The previous Sunday a sloop from Georgia arrived and was captured.

The following Rhode Islanders captured in privateers were in Forton prison in England, in July, 1778, to wit :

John Sherman,	Ebenezer Sever,
Robert Hedge,	Joshua Bowen,
Levi Wheaton,	Daniel Manchester,
Edward Slade,	Francis Devol,





Christopher Phillips,  
James Smiley,  
Abner Luther,  
Jonathan Allen,  
Israel Luther,  
William Munroe,  
Anthony Dago,  
Thomas Muisey,  
Hector McLane,  
Benjamin Ivory,  
Elias Porter,  
James Brown,  
Stephen Ready,  
Solomon Smith,  
Jonathan Langworthy,  
Green Capron,  
John Swan,  
Peter Richards,  
John Welch,  
Robert Walker,  
Caleb Lane,  
Enoch Knapp,  
Samuel Rice,  
Samuel Mitchell,  
Moses Pearce,  
John Bell,  
Sepperan String,  
Jacob Tucker,  
Daniel Smith,  
Daniel Woodward,  
David Gray,  
Abijah Perkins,  
George Smith,  
James Lunt,  
Christopher Clarke,

William Sawyer,  
Eleazer Weeden,  
Gardner Carr,  
John Pearce,  
Michael Coggeshall,  
Amos Luther,  
Peter Delock,  
Edward McGrath,  
Jacob Cunningham,  
Ephraim Smith,  
Michael Pepper,  
Cyrus Fanning,  
Zachariah Hatch,  
William Kelly,  
William Shaw,  
James W. Stanley,  
Elisha Hinman,  
Charles Buckley,  
William Hambleton,  
William Saunders,  
Abraham Mace.  
Holder Rhodes,  
John Caswell,  
William Mitchell,  
John Patterson,  
Daniel Beers,  
Joshua Goss,  
John Kilton,  
Caleb Carpenter,  
John Murphy,  
Robert Wilcox,  
Benjamin Hicks,  
James Tew,  
James Woodward,  
James Bryant.

1870

1871

Ms. A. 9. 2. 744  
THE HUGUENOTS AND THE EDICT OF NANTES.

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A PAPER READ BEFORE

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

NOVEMBER 3, 1885,

BY WILLIAM GAMMELL,

*President of the Society.*

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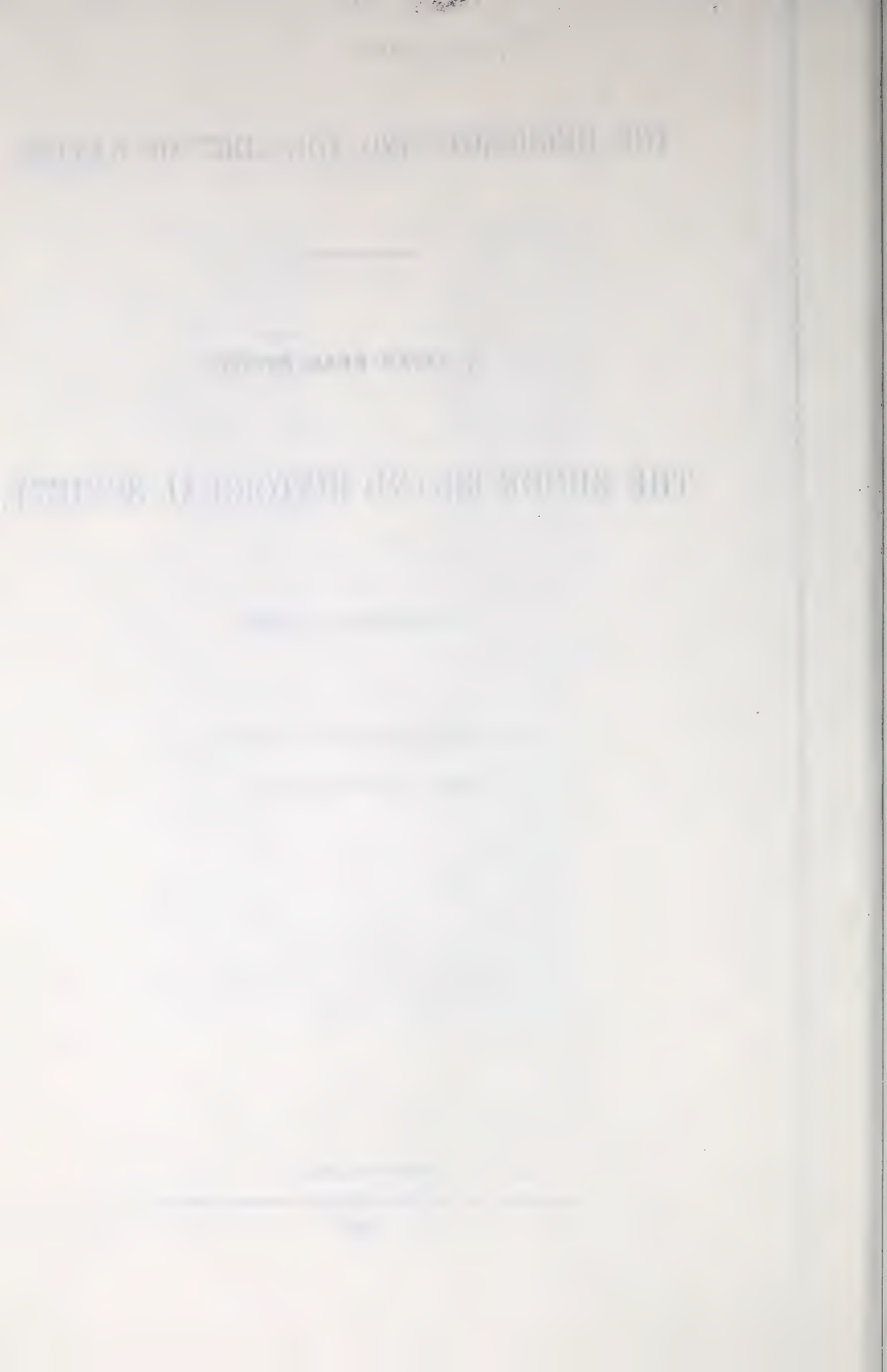
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PROVIDENCE:

PRINTED BY THE PROVIDENCE PRESS COMPANY.

1886.



GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

The twenty-second day of October just past was the two hundredth anniversary of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It has been commemorated by descendants of the Huguenots in many different parts of the country. Several of you have united in a request that I begin our winter course of Historical Papers with one relating to "The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes," and it is in accordance with this request that I present to you the following :

The Protestant Reformation in France had a comparatively brief career, and finally came to a disastrous overthrow. While it lasted, however, it was associated with resolute and unfaltering faith, with heroic courage, and with sufferings scarcely paralleled in any other country or at any other period of history. Its beginning was nearly coeval with its beginning in Germany, though well-nigh independent of it, and it maintained substantially the same character in both countries. It was in both an uprising of the human mind against the principle of absolute authority in matters of religion. In both it asserted the supremacy of the Holy Scriptures over the traditions, the usages and the authority of the Church. In neither country was it really the work of any single leader. It began in the minds of thoughtful people before any leaders appeared and it was the expression of a prevailing sentiment, of which leaders were only the asserters and exponents. Indeed, they became leaders only as they publicly declared the ideas and beliefs, the cravings and





aspirations which already existed in multitudes of minds. The Reformation demanded that the Scriptures be given to the human race for whom they were designed, instead of being confined to the priests alone. The invention of printing had just made the Bible an accessible book to all who could read, and multitudes everywhere were searching for its hitherto unknown teachings and promises. In palaces and in hovels they read its sacred pages or heard them read, that they might learn the truths which it contained, but which had never before been within their reach.

In France, more generally than in Germany, the doctrines of the Reformation were for a time regarded with great favor by the more intelligent classes of the population. The relations of the Gallican Church and the Papacy had been disturbed, and the popular fear of the Vatican had been diminished in consequence. This was especially true in the southeasterly portions of the country which were nearest to Switzerland, in whose freer air these doctrines were received with singular readiness. Their votaries were called "gospelers," because they encouraged by precept and by example the reading of the New Testament, and the doctrines which they held and which they everywhere taught to the people, were styled "the religion," as if they were a new gift to mankind. Many of its early ministers were men of learning, who had been trained at the Sorbonne in Paris, the most illustrious school of mediæval theology. It also early numbered among its votaries men and women of rank, officers of distinction in the service of the country and even princes of the royal blood. But its most efficient propagators for a considerable period were undoubtedly to be found among the travelling traders of the age, many of whom had now added the New Testament to the wares in which they trafficked alike at castle and at cottage,



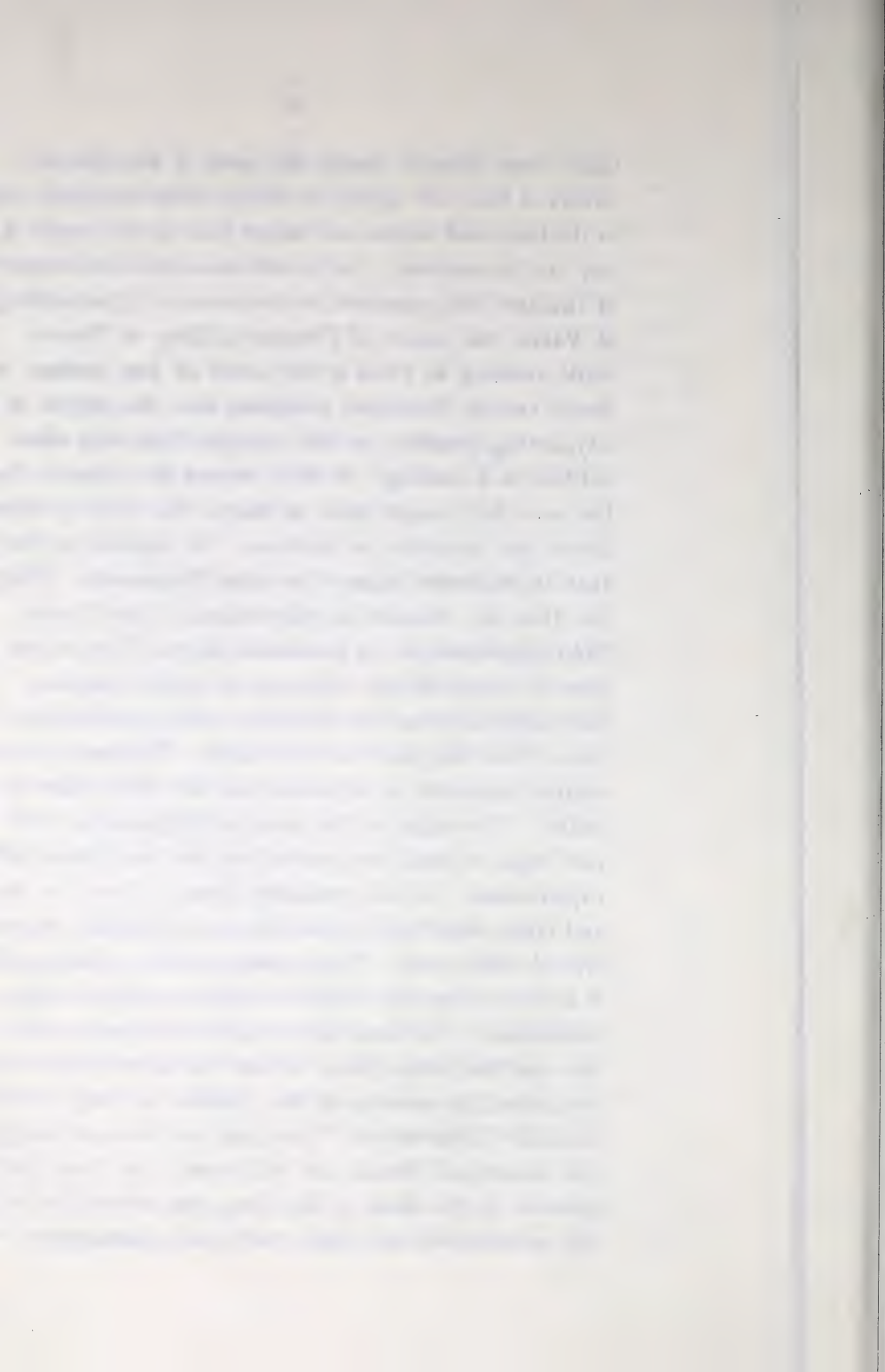
all over southern France. They were the humble beginners of rural commerce and rural handicraft, whom history seldom mentions but who rendered invaluable services in the centuries to which they belonged. Those who have looked over the writings or the Life of Palissy the Potter, will recall the service he thus rendered, as he travelled over the country in promoting that beautiful process of enamelling clay, which he had so laboriously invented. Wherever he went in the practice of his art, with which he at length decorated some of the grandest castles and palaces of the age, he bore with him copies of the New Testament which he sold or gave to all who would receive them. He was a simple "gospeller"—without church and without creed—a man of extraordinary genius and of heroic Christian faith, whom threatenings did not disturb and persecutions did not destroy. So quietly for a time did "the religion" thus make progress in the minds of the people, that in many places its services were frequented almost as largely as those of the ancient faith. Rural churches were opened for conducting them on Sundays and they were often attended by many who had already celebrated the mass and listened to the teachings of the priests.

The city of Meaux for a time became the centre of this singular tolerance. Here lived James Lefèvre and William Farel, men of education and learning, who had been among the earliest preachers of the new faith. They had prepared for their congregations a new translation of the Evangelists, and when it was finished they submitted it to the kind-hearted bishop of the city, who not only approved what they had done but gave them assistance in publishing it. He also found many of his priests to be non-resident and without vicars, and he invited Farel, Lefèvre and others to preach in their vacant pulpits, and himself assisted in circulating





their Four Gospels among the poor of his diocese. The effects of this new agency of divine truth were soon visible in the improved morals and better lives of the people of the city and its environs. But a still more remarkable promoter of the new faith appeared in the person of Queen Margaret of Valois, the sister of Francis I., King of France. She, while residing in Paris at the court of her brother, introduced certain Reformed preachers into the pulpits of that city, acting, possibly, on the principle that both sides were entitled to a hearing. It thus seemed for a time as though the new faith might have at least a fair field in which to assert and maintain its doctrines. It was also at this time that its professors began to be called Huguenots. They had not thus far attacked the institutions of the Church. Nor had they denounced the priesthood and the Pope, as had been done so fiercely by the reformers in other countries. They had simply searched the Scriptures and proclaimed the great ideas which they had thus discovered. They were, therefore, scarcely regarded as reformers nor did they desire to be so called. The origin of the name of Huguenots, which they now began to bear, has received not less than fifteen different explanations. It was probably given to them in derision and taken from that of some obscure or despised representative of their cause. They, however, seem to have preferred it to every other and to have clung to it till all others were abandoned. The name soon became synonymous with heretics and they were placed beyond the protection of law and proscribed as enemies of the Church in every country in Catholic Christendom. That they had been encouraged by the Bishop of Meaux and still more that they had been favored by the sister of the king, soon stirred the wrath of the ecclesiastics and called forth the remonstrance of the



Pope. The fickle and timid monarch, dreading the papal displeasure, made amends for all that had been done, by a proclamation of atrocious cruelty which proved to be but the beginning of that long series of cruel enormities which finally obliterated nearly every vestige of Protestantism from France. In January, 1535, at the most magnificent fête which in that age Paris had ever beheld, Francis I. solemnly proclaimed his determination to punish all heresy with death and not to spare even his own children if they should be guilty of it. This declaration of the King was received with the utmost delight by the fanatical multitude to whom it was addressed. It was regarded as a permission—perhaps as an invitation—to begin the work of slaughtering heretics at that very time and on the spot where it was uttered. The ceremonies of the fête closed with the burning of six Huguenots, suspended from six beams made to revolve in succession over a flaming furnace, into which they were dropped at each revolution till they were burned to death. Thus was planted in the French nature that appetite for Huguenot blood, which for more than a hundred and fifty years fed itself on massacres and butcheries, on murders and slaughters, the enormities of which no history has fully described and no imagination has fully conceived.

Thus far the Huguenots, though they had become very numerous, were without any recognized leader. In this same year (1535), John Calvin published at Basle, in Switzerland, his "Institutes of Religion," a book which not only united the French Protestants in a common faith, but also wrought their persecuted congregations into an ecclesiastical body of self-governing believers who acknowledged him as their patriarch and chief. A self-denying scholar who, as a student at the Sorbonne, had been sent away from Paris because of his





heresies, he had studied the profoundest problems of religion with an ability and a zeal which no man has ever surpassed. With a mind of the acutest and most comprehensive order, he embodied in his Institutes the doctrines which not only gave character and organization to the Protestants of France, but have ever since exercised a controlling influence on the religious thought of at least half of Protestant Christendom. Seldom in human history has the power of a single mind been so deeply and so widely felt, not only in his own but in subsequent ages.

Thus organized as a religious body they took another step and in 1569 made themselves also a separate political body—a Christian State—framed in accordance with the theories of Calvin though not with his special approval of the proceeding. Thus, in an age of violence and of brutal war, they became a religious republic and sought to be recognized among the great estates of the realm which were subject only to the King. The effect of this was that they came to be regarded by aspiring nobles and ambitious princes, as a power that might be conciliated and used for their own advancement. They soon began to be courted and flattered, their cause was professedly and often sincerely espoused, in order to induce them to become tributary to political schemes wholly foreign to every interest of religion. Placed as they now were, with an ecclesiastical and civil organization of their own, in the midst of the factions and combinations of a tumultuous age, it is perhaps not surprising that they were drawn into the civil and political struggles which were going on around them. They received assurances of assistance from one and another of the great leaders in these struggles, some of whom had earnestly accepted their own religious faith. They saw no escape from destruction save by some





sort of alliance with those who were contending with their common enemy and destroyer. Their numbers had become so great, and their importance so considerable that they were able to dictate terms of union which gave promise of security to their religion—the great end which they always kept in view. It was thus that they allowed themselves to make alliances with those who sought to become the controllers and masters of the State, at one time with the Family of Bourbon, at another with the party of the Politiques, at another with the Princes of Condé, and last of all with the chiefs of the House of Navarre, who were soon to become the rulers of France. But whatever their motives may have been, whatever the promises of advantage that were made to them, these alliances were always a mistake and always disastrous to the interests of religion. As religious reformers their sole work was to cherish and proclaim the teachings of Jesus Christ, to set them forth in their writings, to illustrate them in their lives, and to teach them everywhere to their fellow-men. It is thus and thus only that Christianity in all ages has won its splendid triumphs in all the earth. It is only degraded and dishonored when its disciples league themselves with princes or accept the services of armies to accomplish religious ends. It was this forgetting of the essential and unchangeable fact that the kingdom of Christ is not a kingdom of this world, which more than any other cause—more indeed than all other causes—very early involved them in disasters and finally prepared the way for their greatest sufferings and for the humiliating failure of all their heroic endeavors to establish the Protestant Reformation in France.

The immediate consequence of this mingling of the religious struggles of the Huguenots with the politics and cabals of the age was the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, as they

The first of these is the fact that the world is not  
a uniform whole. It is not a single entity  
which can be described in a single way. It is a  
complex of many different parts, each of which  
has its own life and its own history. It is a  
world of many different kinds of people, each of  
whom has his own way of thinking and his  
own way of feeling. It is a world of many  
different kinds of things, each of which has  
its own value and its own use. It is a world  
of many different kinds of problems, each of  
which has its own solution and its own answer.  
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its own use. It is a world of many different  
kinds of problems, each of which has its own  
solution and its own answer.

are styled, of which the narratives fill so many repulsive chapters of French history. They were really civil wars among rival factions, in which the Huguenots became enlisted. They lasted for forty years and the tragedies which are connected with them are amongst the most revolting in which human beings have ever been the actors. The belligerent Huguenots gained occasional advantages and for a brief season they expected to triumph. But in the end they utterly failed. They were corrupted by bad associations. They lost the religious character which they originally possessed. They caught the worldly spirit of the ambitious adventurers with whom they were allied. They contended no longer for their faith but for power to rule. They even followed the example of their enemies and avenged their sufferings by needless atrocities. In at least one most lamentable instance one hundred and twenty defenceless Catholics, of whom seventy-two were prisoners of war, were massacred in cold blood by one of their military bands at the city of Nismes. It is true that the outrage was a solitary exception to the general conduct of their campaigns and was condemned by their ministers and their military leaders. It may be, even, that it was perpetrated by ferocious soldiers acting without orders, but it was done in their name and it was sure to be avenged a hundred fold by their malignant enemies. It undoubtedly became a precedent and a provocation for the far more fearful massacres of 1562 at Vassy, at Paris, at Senlis, at Meaux, at Chalons, at Epernay, at Tours and at so many other towns inhabited by Huguenots. It was even cited in justification of that most atrocious of all slaughters recorded in modern history, the massacre of St. Bartholemew's Day on the 24th of August, 1572,—a slaughter perpetrated at the command of the royal authorities of France, the beginning of which in





Paris was witnessed by the weak-minded King Charles IX., and his intriguing mother Catherine de Medicis, a woman who deserves the detestable distinction of having suggested or sanctioned all the Huguenot murders of that sanguinary period of violence and persecution. This queen-mother was so much delighted with her bloody work of three days in Paris, that she immediately dispatched letters to Philip II., of Spain, to the Duke of Alva and to Pope Gregory XIII., at Rome. Philip on receiving the tidings of what had been done, is said to have laughed aloud for the first and only time in a life made morose and gloomy by a fanaticism which knew no joy but in the persecution and destruction of heretics. At Rome the occasion was one of extraordinary jubilation. A Pontifical salute was fired at the Castle of San. Angelo. Gregory XIII. and the College of Cardinals went in procession to church after church "to render thanksgivings (such is the ancient record) to God the infinitely great and good, for the mercy which He had vouchsafed to the See of Rome and to the whole Christian world." A painting of the massacre was ordered for the Vatican gallery and a medal of gold was struck, with the head of the Pope on one side and on the other the Destroying Angel exterminating the Huguenots, with the inscription *Hugonotorum Strages*. In Paris the whole body of the clergy celebrated the massacre with public processions and established an annual jubilee to commemorate it. They also had a medal prepared in honor of the event bearing the legend "Piety has Awakened Justice." The feeble-minded King by whose authority these dreadful deeds of blood had been perpetrated soon afterwards lay upon his death-bed—his intellect well-nigh extinct and his wild fancy peopling every scene with the victims of the massacre as he wasted away under the power of a slow



poison believed at the time to have been administered by his mother.

I have thus given a hasty outline of the bitter experiences of the Huguenots under the last five kings of the house of Valois, through a period of fifty years. The reign of each, happily for his subjects, had been brief, for, as has been truly said, "bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days." The name of Huguenot had become more odious than ever and the policy of the government had now left them without protection to the fanatical hatred of their proud and vengeful enemies. In this condition of affairs, after the brief and uneventful reign of Henry III., the throne descended to his successor, Henry IV., son of Anthony of Navarre. His mother was Jane D'Albret, a Protestant alike by birth and by choice and a champion of the Protestant faith. Henry had been excommunicated for heresy by Pope Sixtus V., and his right to the throne had been annulled. On this account he was compelled to contend in arms for its possession and at length to make his submission to the Papal Church. In consequence of these hindrances, he was not crowned till 1594, nearly six years after the death of his predecessor. His character has received an estimate higher than it intrinsically deserves, because it is compared with those of his predecessors and those of his immediate successors. His great merit is that in a critical period he dared to act as the head of the nation and to take measures to secure its unity and peace.

France had become so distracted and wretched that it was constantly exposed alike to internal decay and to foreign subjugation and dismemberment. It is the merit and the glory of Henry IV.,—a merit and glory, however, tarnished by many a vice and many a folly, — that he made one heroic





endeavor to put an end to the merciless persecutions which now for fifty years the Protestants had been compelled to endure from their Catholic fellow-subjects. So soon as his seat on the throne had been fully secured he called before him, on separate occasions, the representatives of both and after a patient consultation with each, he caused to be prepared and promulgated the Edict of Nantes — an edict which has usually been styled the Charter of French Protestantism and which certainly is a noble and generous attempt to secure a cessation of the bloody religious strife that had blighted the happiness and well-nigh destroyed the prosperity of France. The Edict bears the date of April, 1598. It contains the substance of several other edicts relating to the Huguenots which had been issued in former reigns, and is expanded through ninety-two articles. It is supplemented by three additional documents, of which two are entitled secret articles and the remaining one is styled *Brevet*; the secret articles qualifying and in some instances enlarging the provisions of the Edict itself. They together, in the only form in which I have seen them, fill some forty closely printed crown octavo pages and are certainly very dull reading. Their prevailing tone is very kindly and shows the utmost desire on the part of the King to eradicate and destroy the religious animosities which had so long disturbed the peace and order of his kingdom. In this respect it is undoubtedly intended to be equivalent to an act of indemnity and oblivion, and for this purpose it provides several items of pecuniary compensation to be paid from the royal treasury. It is only when we examine it as a charter of liberties for the future that its inadequacies present themselves, though even thus considered it may be all that ought to be expected from an age and a country in which constitutional liberty was wholly





unknown. It was undoubtedly intended that the people of France should have the right to choose between the two religions, but this right is hampered by so many restrictions and reservations that it could never be freely exercised.

The Edict recognizes two distinct classes into which the subjects of the King are divided. First, those who profess "the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion," and second, those who profess "the Pretended Reformed religion." The former of these religions it declares to be the established religion of the country, and wherever it has been overthrown or abandoned it is to be reestablished in full possession of all its former rights. The latter, or the Pretended Reformed religion, on the other hand, is placed on an entirely different foundation. Those who profess and cherish it are admitted to certain privileges rather than rights, and these privileges are conceded to them, not from any principle of justice, but wholly from considerations of expediency and because of the trouble they have occasioned and may occasion again. Through all its concessions it presents the votaries of the "Pretended Reformed religion," not only as an inferior part of the population but as persons having no claims whatever to the privileges which it confers. It was thus incidentally fitted to inspire, in full measure among the more favored class, that haughty contempt, that disdainful intolerance which a national church supported by law and protected by government, always cherishes for those whom it scornfully styles dissenters and schismatics and heretics. It allowed them simply to exist, but only by sufferance. Though the Protestant Reformation in France, even after sixty years of almost ceaseless persecution, now numbered as its adherents scarcely less than a million of Frenchmen, among whom were princes of the royal blood, noblemen of illustrious lineage, officers of dis-



tion in the army and navy of the King, and a most respectable, industrious and thrifty portion of the population, yet the tone of the Edict is one of condescension and of reluctant interposition in behalf of an inferior class, who had been deluded with troublesome doctrines and were practicing strange rites of religion, rather to be indulged and borne with than to be approved or respected.

If we pass from its general tone to its special provisions, we find that it permits every person to select the reformed religion without hindrance or restriction of any kind, but he can make no public exercise of it save in certain districts and places which are specially named. These places and districts are those in which it already exists. From all other places its public exercises are expressly excluded, and among these are comprised the city of Paris and the country around it to the extent of five leagues, in which their worship could not be held. The professors of the Pretended Reformed religion are made eligible to all public offices and employments and also to all schools and colleges and all hospitals and charitable institutions. They may reside in any part of the kingdom, but they may hold their worship or any public exercises of their religion apart or keep for sale books relating to it, only in the specified places. It is obvious from restrictions such as these, especially in an age when intercourse was difficult and exceedingly limited, that the Reformers could look forward to no organized growth and to no prolonged future for their religious faith. They could cherish it in their own hearts provided they kept it to themselves. They could not commune with each other in any religious exercise, still less could they explain their doctrines to others anywhere but in the districts and towns specified in the Edict, and wherever they might be, they were required to

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp, biting cold that seemed to seep into my bones. I shivered as I walked towards the entrance of the building. The air was thick with the scent of old wood and the faint, distant smell of coffee. I took a deep breath, trying to steady myself. The door was slightly ajar, and I pushed it open with a creak. Inside, the room was dimly lit, with light filtering through the curtains. I saw a desk with a lamp, a chair, and a small table with a vase of flowers. The room felt like a sanctuary, a place where I could finally rest. I walked towards the desk, my feet making a soft sound on the carpet. I reached out to touch the lamp, but my hand stopped just before it. I felt a strange sensation, like I was being watched. I turned around, but no one was there. I shook my head, trying to dismiss the thought. I sat down at the desk, my hands resting on my knees. I closed my eyes and tried to focus on my breathing. The room seemed to fade away, leaving only the sound of my breath. I opened my eyes and looked at the clock on the wall. It was 10:15. I had been here for an hour. I stood up and walked towards the door. I opened it and stepped outside. The cold was still there, but it felt different now. It felt like a blanket, something that wrapped around me and kept me safe. I walked back to the car, my hands in my pockets. I looked back at the building one last time before getting in. The door was closed. I turned the key in the ignition and started the engine. I drove away, leaving the room behind me.



“observe the festivals in use in the Church, Catholic, Roman and Apostolic, and on such days not to sell or to expose for sale in shops, or to engage openly in any work.” Numerous sections of the Edict relate to the manner in which justice shall be administered in all civil suits and processes which affected them, and in this connection special officers were appointed to act in their behalf in several of the high courts of the realm. As I have already mentioned, the Huguenots had organized themselves into a sort of Christian State—a political body without reference to territory—which had, in some respects, been recognized by the government. This recognition was ratified in the Edict, and several fortresses in the districts assigned to them were placed under their control to give military importance and strength to their State.

No sooner was the Edict of Nantes promulgated than it was denounced in almost equal measure by both Catholics and Huguenots. The former regarded it as a boon too great to be given to heretics; the latter as a concession too small for them to receive. The former declared it to be a proof of the insincerity of Henry's conformity to the Church. The latter styled it the treacherous work of a renegade Protestant who had abandoned the faith of his ancestors that he might receive the crown and sit upon the throne. Henry himself clearly thought it to be all that could be done with any advantage to either. His great aspiration was not so much to benefit either religious party as to bring peace and order to his distracted kingdom. It was in reality a great and beneficent act of royal authority—an act whose true significance reached far beyond the subject to which it related and which proclaimed that a new mode of government had begun in France. It was an assertion of prerogative on the part of the monarch which gave notice to feudal lords and local

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authorities of every degree, that their importance was henceforth to be merged in the sovereign importance of the King himself. Henry was the first of the Bourbon race of kings, a race that created a new era in France only to show how incompetent they were to guide its spirit or to meet its necessities. The absolute monarchy which Henry founded made France a nation, but it also, in the hands of his successors, brought on the revolution which, for the time, destroyed both nation and monarchy.

But the Edict was yet to be sanctioned by the Parliament of Paris and by the other local Parliaments which in those times performed the functions of legislative assemblies, with something like the conceited independence and provincial narrowness which were so frequently displayed by our own State legislatures in the days of the old Confederation and the Continental Congress. It was in these bodies that the Edict of Nantes assumed its true political and historical significance. With them it was not merely a recognition of the Huguenot churches and their religion, but it was an act vastly more vital in its bearings. It entered into the very springs and sources of public authority, into the political life of the nation. It was an act such as that which our English ancestors in the days of Cromwell, fifty years later, used to style a Root and Branch measure. A new age had come, and but few were aware of its advent and fewer still knew what kind of an age it was to be. Henry comprehended the exigency of public affairs and determined to meet it. He commanded the Parliaments to sanction the Edict, and they obeyed. In spite of his Huguenot training he was far from being a saint. He was licentious in his life and to a large extent a votary of expediency in his morals. But he was kindly in his spirit and more just than his predecessors in





his acts. He found the country ruined by rival factions and religious wars. Civil society was falling to pieces amidst the universal prevalence of jealousies and hatreds, of intrigues and cabals. Life was without security and had but little value. The single explanation of this social disorganization and decay was to be found in the fact that there existed no government strong enough to become a guaranty of order and security; no single force paramount over all other forces, that could limit their action and control the manner of their operation. The Edict of Henry IV. was thus the first great exercise of royal authority in France. Had he lived to carry it into full operation and complete development, its revocation might have become impossible.

Henry IV., like his predecessor, fell by the hand of an assassin in one of the streets of Paris in 1610, after a prosperous reign of sixteen years. The Huguenots now discovered how great a friend he had been to their cause. The provisions of the Edict soon began to receive new constructions. New annoyances were contrived for their humiliation and new restrictions were placed on their worship. Under the bad influences which still controlled them, they at length rose in armed insurrections and in 1629, after they had been subdued with needless cruelty by the soldiers of Louis XIII., they were pardoned and restored to their religious rights, but deprived of their political organization and their military fortresses and made simple subjects of the King. This was what Henry IV. himself had foreseen would be necessary and it proved to be the greatest boon they had ever received from the government. They were now deserted by the great nobles and military leaders who had acted with them. They gave up the engrossing business of governing themselves and devoted their energies to agricultural industry, to com-





merce and to the useful arts with a success which had never before been witnessed in France. Even in their worst days they had not ceased to read the Bible, to listen to sermons and prayers and to sing their hymns of devotion and thanksgiving. They had thus kept alive the essential rudiments of religious life which neither war nor worldliness had wholly destroyed. Their industry and prosperity soon became characteristic features of the regions which they inhabited. Indifferent to the holidays of the Church, their labor was remitted only on Sundays and on some occasional festival of thanksgiving or some chosen day for fasting and prayer. Their industrial year was thus nearly one-third longer than that of their Catholic neighbors. In addition to this they conducted their work with a self-directing intelligence which never fails to insure the highest industrial success. Hence it came to be remarked that wherever the harvests were most abundant, wherever the vineyards yielded the most delicious grapes and the finest wines, wherever the silk and the woolen manufacturers were the most prosperous, wherever in the ports, either of the Mediterranean or the British Channel, the largest ships bore away the richest cargoes and brought back the most ample returns, there the Huguenots were to be found in the greatest numbers. So much better is quiet industry than war or than politics as an occupation of life. So much more beautiful and attractive, so much more effective over all human hearts, is the example of Christian faith when ruling in the daily lives of its disciples than it ever can be when courting the alliance of rank and power or soliciting the favor of princes and monarchs. These were the best years of the Huguenots—years in which they engaged in no wars and no cabals, in which they asked for nothing from the government but to be let alone. Louis



XIII. in dissolving their political organization became incidentally their greatest benefactor.

Louis XIV. came to the throne in 1642, at the age of five years, and his reign lasted till his death in 1715—a period of seventy-three years. When he was at the age of fourteen he declared himself qualified to reign, and on the death of Cardinal Mazarin in 1661, he became his own prime minister and assumed the entire management of the government. He was a man of extraordinary administrative abilities and of singular power of controlling other men. That centralization of power which Henry IV. had begun, he carried to the fullest completion. He made the government of France not only an absolute monarchy, but an oriental despotism in which the word of the king was the law. His leading idea was that the country and its people of every degree, with all that they possessed, were his property to be used at his discretion. *I am the State* was the maxim that controlled his reign. He made war on the grandest scale. He lavished the wealth of his subjects on the adornment of his capital, on palaces, churches, fortresses, on libraries and museums. He gathered around him scholars and men of genius, great statesmen and great soldiers, and made his reign the most brilliant in the history of France. It was fortunate that for a considerable period he gave little attention to the religion of his subjects. His spiritual advisers, writes the historian Sismondi, limited their counsels to two essential precepts: 1. Abstain from incontinence, 2. Exterminate heretics; and it has been said of him that “if he fell short in the first of these duties, he certainly wrought works of supererogation in the second.” The extraordinary zeal and the still more extraordinary cruelty of Louis XIV. in the destruction of Huguenots, had their origin in part at least in his imperial





passion for unity of every kind in his kingdom. With him, non-conformity in religion was rebellion and he treated it as such. Whatever spirit of fanaticism he had was breathed into him, in a large degree, by Madame de Maintenon, a woman of disreputable celebrity, strangely enough of Protestant descent and training, who was first the teacher of his children and afterwards his wife. She controlled what was called his conscience. She claimed and perhaps deserved the distinction of converting the King, by which she meant that she made him the foremost of religious persecutors in modern times. He did not massacre the Huguenots as his predecessors had done. He adopted a different mode of proceeding. He began with a proposal, in full accordance with his magnificent ideas, to purchase the conversion of the entire body of the Huguenots at an average price of five livres a head, and for this purpose he set apart one-third of the entire revenue of all the vacant benefices of the kingdom, as a special fund, which was styled the Bank of Conversion, and was administered by agents, called Converters. Multitudes of the baser sort took the money, but when the lists were published it was observed that they were not Huguenots, but persons—not scarce in any country or in any age—always ready to be bought or sold, and that very many of them had been paid for several conversions.

Enraged at his failure he soon devised new methods of securing Catholic unity among his subjects. He ordered that all sorts of people should conform in outward observances to the Established Church. To promote this end, he suppressed the Synods of the Huguenots, he forbade them to be employed in the charge of estates and in all kindred positions. He forbade Catholics and Protestants to intermarry,



and the children of such marriages he declared illegitimate. None but Catholics could be employed in any domestic service. Catholics becoming Protestants were visited with the severest penalties, while Protestants becoming Catholics received special privileges, one of which was the extension of their debts for five years. All public positions of every kind, the practice of all professions and admission to all schools were denied to Protestants. Children of seven years might be brought to Catholic baptism without the consent or knowledge of their parents and, once in the Church, they could not leave it. Multitudes of parents, in agony and despair, sent their children to England, to Holland and to Denmark to be cared for. Huguenot families also in great numbers began to seek homes in foreign countries. This, however, was immediately forbidden under the penalty of being sent to the galleys, but their ministers were encouraged to depart and not suffered to return. These are but specimens of the harassing despotism which was brought to bear upon them in total disregard of the Edict of Nantes.

In 1681 the quartering of soldiers on Huguenot families was first resorted to for "missionary purposes," as it was styled. This practice had not been unknown in France in times of war or national necessity. Now in the province of Poitou they were compelled to receive these dreadful guests and feed and lodge them, often to the number of a hundred in each house if their estates were large. But beyond the insufferable annoyances and outrages it involved, this first attempt at military conversion was not regarded as a success. Three years later, however, in 1684, it was renewed on a far broader and more terrific scale in nearly all the Huguenot provinces. For this purpose dragoons were selected as the most available and likely to be the most effectual instruments





in the work. The enterprise thus received the name of *dragonade*, a new word then added to the French language. Chosen squadrons of these terrible troopers lighted like filthy birds of prey on the homes of the Huguenots alike in cities and provinces wherever they were found. They carried with them the whole machinery of agony and despair—insult, outrage, degradation, the destruction of estates, the wanton violation of every sanctity, the inhuman practice of every atrocity, save murder alone. It was probably the most appalling form of wholesale persecution ever visited upon a civilized people. Human nature broke down beneath the infliction. Despair, insanity and suicide marked its progress. City after city, province after province professed their submission to the Church on the approach of the dreadful *dragonade*. Nismes was converted, as was said, in twenty-four hours. Swift couriers bore daily reports of the universal surrender, till the King and his courtiers were made to believe that there were no longer any heretics in France. He had often professed his unwillingness to annul the Edict which had been proclaimed by his grandfather, though he had repeatedly violated every one of its provisions. But now, said he, it is no longer needed, for the Huguenots have all become Catholics. Deceived by false reports, flattered by courtiers and priests, elated by what he deemed the greatest of triumphs, he signed on the 22d of October, 1685, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had been proclaimed by Henry IV. eighty-seven years before. This act removed every semblance of protection that remained and let loose upon them the wildest fury of their enemies. The revocation was applauded in the splendid eloquence of Massillon and Bossuet, the most illustrious preachers of the age, but it gave a shock to the French people. It was the first





break in the spell which had enthralled the nation. It occasioned the loss of at least three hundred thousand of the bravest, the most industrious and the most intelligent of the population of the country—a loss which well-nigh destroyed several of the great industries in which it most excelled. Their emigration was prohibited and the coast was constantly watched, but amidst dangers, privations and sufferings which no pen has fully described, they fled to England, to Germany, to Holland and to the colonies in America, bearing with them, not only immense wealth, but industrial skill, commercial enterprise and high character, which enriched and adorned the countries that received them.

But I cannot linger on the scenes connected with this stupendous expatriation and exile. As they are portrayed in history they are the perpetual shame of our common humanity, the foulest reproach that has ever rested upon Christian civilization. We are not, however, to imagine that the spirit which produced them is confined to a single church or to a single type of Christianity. Religious intolerance belongs to human nature and manifests itself in a vast variety of ways. Its most common device has been to seize upon the fatal assumption that the State is bound to prescribe or support the religion of its people. When Louis XIV. exterminated the Huguenots and put an end to the Protestant Reformation in France, this assumption was well-nigh universal among Christian nations. It is scarcely too much to say that religious persecution or religious restriction in one form or another, was at least possible, if it was not practiced, in nearly every State in Christendom. It had been made impossible in Rhode Island alone by the very terms of the social organization. Here and here alone the body politic had no power to prescribe or control or in any way to affect the religion of



its members. It was an idea far in advance of the age, and was everywhere derided and disparaged. But how splendid are the triumphs it has won—how manifold are the blessings it has brought both to religion and to the State. It has made persecutors like Catherine de Medicis and Louis XIV. no longer possible in civilized nations. It has brought together warring churches in the bonds of a common faith, and animated them with new zeal in proclaiming the Gospel to all mankind. It has emancipated Christianity from a debasing bondage and restored it to its original freedom. It has compelled the State to become the equal protector of every creed however despised, of every worship however humble. Thus it is that the seed planted here by our exiled founders two hundred and fifty years ago, has become a mighty tree “and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations.”

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